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The sage as teacher and source of knowledge: editorial strategies and formulaic utterances in Confucius dialogues

Abstract: The present article discusses selected dialogues between Confucius and Duke Ai of Lu as well as dialogues in which Confucius employs the phrase "I will tell you" (*wu yu ru* 吾語汝), mainly to address followers. The analysis focuses on two aspects of the Confucius figure: (1) Confucius as a textual function that serves to integrate and validate disparate textual units within a coherent narrative framework; (2) Confucius as authoritative master who enunciates didactic pronouncements in the presence of his disciples. The latter function is ironically appropriated in *Zhuangzi* 莊子. The article closes with a reflection on possible future directions of research into uses of the Confucius figure.

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1 Introduction

Many roles in which Confucius is cast in writings from up to and including the Western Han (206 BCE–9 CE) involve the efficacious use of the spoken word. There are numerous texts that purport to record conversations between Confucius and his disciples, or between him and powerful men of his day. The long journey from state to state in Sima Qian's 司馬遷 (ca. 145–90 BCE) Confucius biography for instance presents the Master as forerunner of the travelling persuader who seeks the favour of princes in exchange for political and moral counsel. Nonetheless, few of these portraits provide much reason to imagine Confucius as a public speaker engaged in the argy-bargy of court debate, or as a dazzling orator setting off on rhetorical flights of fancy to sway the opinion of powerful men on questions of good government and matters of war and peace. The predominant image of Confucius in the recent past as well as today appears to be one familiar from a particular reading of the *Lunyu* 論語: that of the lofty Master dispensing wisdom

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to respectful listeners in an "enunciatory scene" or "scene of instruction".[1] Like so many stock images, this one too simplifies and neglects alternative aspects of the object under observation.[2] But it is undeniably founded on a substantial body of sources in and outside the *Lunyu* as well as on a compelling ideal of Confucius. This does not, however, make alternative images any less significant as historical phenomena in need of investigation and interpretation. Consequently, in addition to the fairly conventional image of Confucius the teacher, the following will also engage with the less prominent representations of Confucius as political adviser.

Through a limited case study, this article addresses the problem of which functions the Confucius figure was used to fulfil. It also raises the question of whether and how direct speech attributed to Confucius was, like the persuasions of political orators, intended to create an impact on its addressees within the text, or to conjure up the illusion that it did. The focus on the oral delivery of speeches and on the speaker would make this a study in rhetoric.[3] But the term will here be understood rather loosely. It shall not be used strictly to refer to the theory and practice of persuasive speech in public.[4] Nor will this article follow the practice of stylistics and literary criticism in applying analytical categories derived from the system of tropes to linguistic and stylistic patterns.[5] Instead, I propose to read a selection of anecdotes and dialogues centring on the Confucius figure with a view to investigating three interrelated bundles of questions: First, how were texts that feature Confucius as a speaker structured and composed from an editorial perspective, and what role does the Confucius figure play in the process of composition? Second, what was the pragmatic function of the speeches attributed to Confucius within the texts and also vis-à-vis the users of these texts? Third, how

1 On the central role of the "enunciatory scene" see Lewis 1999: ch. 2, esp. 57. See also the recent discussion of *Lunyu* in Denecke 2010: ch. 2, which focuses mainly on master-disciple interactions in what Denecke terms "scenes of instruction".

2 The quantitative evidence for the outstanding significance of scenes of instruction in the *Lunyu* is weak. They do not make up the majority of passages; see Weingarten (forthcoming).

3 See, e.g., Knape 2000: 33 on the orator as the "Archimedean point" of rhetoric. Some early Chinese writings on persuasion also focus on the orator, for instance the introduction to *Shuoyuan* 說苑 11, "Shan shui" 善說, translated in Unger 2006; *Han Fei zi* 韓非子 12, "Shui nan" 說難, and *Guigu zi* 鬼谷子. On the latter work see the article by Gentz in this volume.

4 For an illustration of this aspect in western rhetoric, see Knape 2000: ch. 1.

5 For a discussion and application of such an approach see, e.g., Plett 2010. Greco-Roman rhetoric as systematised in Lausberg 1960 has been applied to Classical Chinese texts by Unger 1994, though this approach has met with some criticism (Harbsmeier 1999; cf. the much more positive Führer 1996). Cf. also the distinction between persuasive and ornamental rhetoric in Mittler / Wuthenow 2009: 2027.

are the interactions between Confucius and his interlocutors depicted, and what are the roles assumed by the two sides in this intercourse?

The two main parts of the article will investigate depictions of Confucius as speaker in two different contexts and functions: (1) as a political adviser to Duke Ai 哀 of Lu 魯 (r. 494–468 BCE) in texts that present an ostensibly dialogic setting which, as it turns out, is used to integrate heterogeneous textual units into a coherent narrative and structural framework; (2) in a number of scenes of instruction that adhere to and probably helped reinforce the stock image of the superior master. It goes without saying that a host of other roles and functions are attested and could have been singled out as well. Among these are depictions of Confucius as authority with esoteric knowledge about natural and supernatural phenomena, or of Confucius the traveller who experiences unexpected encounters with strangers.[6] The present selection was guided by the motivation to elucidate two aspects of the Confucius figure that usually do not attract much attention in the scholarly literature and that relate to the topic of efficacious speech.

The analysis of Confucius's speeches to Duke Ai will demonstrate how the Confucius figure served an editorial function in helping to draw together and confer authority upon textual units that were, in all likelihood, previously unrelated. The investigation into scenes of instruction will trace the use of one particular formula in the creation of a generic framework for dialogues between Confucius and his disciples. This framework, including the characteristic formula, was later appropriated and subverted in several dialogues in the *Zhuangzi* 莊子. Both of these types of interaction share certain characteristics. Serving didactic ends, they centre on the enunciation of authoritative teachings.

2 The duke and the master

Sources such as *Lunyu*, *Zuozhuan* 左傳, and *Shiji* 史記 which are often deemed the most reliable testimony on Confucius record interactions between him and various princes and powerful nobles. Among them are dukes of Lu and Qi 齊 but also scions of aristocratic houses, such as the leaders of the Ji 季 clan in Lu, whose power eclipsed that of legimitate rulers. Of these interlocutors, a particularly important role is assigned to Duke Ai, who ruled Lu for the last fifteen years of Confucius's life. While the standard sources record some encounters between the

6 On encounters with strangers see Weingarten 2010: ch. 4.2. Anecdotes that centre on Confucius's esoteric knowledge are collected in Sun Xingyan 1998: ch. 11.

two men, the bulk of their dialogues is found elsewhere. Compared to the *Lunyu*, these texts do not appear to have been the subject of much recent scholarly work.

Of greater interest than the question of their authenticity is the rigid and repetitive structure displayed by some of these dialogues, which suggests that they are non-mimetic set-pieces intended to convey an ideological or didactic message rather than to capture the flow of a genuine conversation. To the best of my knowledge, no systematic investigation into standards of credibility and authenticity in ancient China has yet been published. It may thus be premature to hypothesise about the persuasive power of ancient texts. But I would contend that few contemporary readers would have perceived the following, our first example, simply as a transcript of an exchange as it actually transpired or as it could plausibly have transpired. To Suenaga Takayasu 末永高康, the chapter is "obviously not a truthful record", and its editor "had already given up on any effort to construct a dialogue".[7] As will be argued below, the conversational setting and the use of direct speech primarily enable a structured presentation of didactic content.

2.1 *Liji* 41: "The Conduct of the Classicists"

The text entitled "The Conduct of the Classicists" ("Ru xing" 儒行) has been transmitted as chapter 41 of the *Liji*.[8] It appears that traditionally this text has been viewed as a piece of self-promoting propaganda by later classicists, though more positive assessments exist.[9] A brief prelude sets the scene in which Confucius refuses to reply to the duke's question about "the classicists' garments" (*ru fu* 儒服). To Confucius, sartorial issues are irrelevant compared to the attributes that form the core of the Ru ethos. These he proceeds to set out in a speech comprised of seventeen brief units which, with two exceptions, all follow the same structural pattern. The first unit of the speech lauds the discipline and ethical steadfastness of the Classicists in statements that are partly rhymed:[10]

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7 Suenaga 2011: 24. Assuming that records of conversations became, as a rule, more and more carefully embellished through time, he also posits that the parallel in *Kongzi jiayu* 5 孔子家語 5, "Ru xing jie" 儒行解, is a reworking of *Liji* 禮記 41.

8 For the original text, please refer to Appendix 1. For ease of reference, the Chinese originals of this and the other texts in this section of the article are given in the Appendices 1–3.

9 See Harbsmeier 2013: 5.

10 *Liji* 41, Sun Xidan 1989: 1399–1400; cf. the translations by Legge 1885: 403 and Yang Tianyu 2004: 792. Here and throughout the article, the reconstructions used are Schuessler's 2009 "Minimal Old Chinese".

儒有	席上之珍以待聘	[*pheŋh]	Among the classicists are some who await a formal invitation with a gem on a mat,[11]
	夙夜強學以待問	[*məns]	who study hard, day and night, waiting for someone to make enquiries.
	懷忠信以待舉	[*klaʔ]	They carry loyalty and trustworthiness in their breasts, waiting for an appointment,
	力行以待取	[*tshoʔ]	and strive hard, waiting to be chosen.
	其自立有如此者		Such are their [ways] to establish themselves.

With the exception of the final two units (no. 16–17), the subsequent units of Confucius's speech adhere to a similar format where the main text is bracketed by two brief phrases (see the light grey shading). The introductory formula "Among the classicists are some ..." (*ru you* 儒有 ...) is followed by a description of the classicists' strengths and moral qualities. The sections are capped off by the phrase "There are some who ... like this" (*qi* 其 ... *you ru ci zhe* 有如此者), into which a two-character phrase is inserted as a descriptive label (see the darker shading). In the present case, it refers to to the classicists' "establishing themselves" and in other instances to their "preparedness" (*bei yu* 備豫; no. 3), "broad-mindedness" (*kuan yu* 寬裕; no. 10), and their "employing and recommending" (*ren ju* 任擧; no. 12) of others. Throughout the entire chapter, two of the labels inside the bracket of the concluding formula are repeated (*zi li* 自立 appears in no. 1 and 7, *te li* 特立 in no. 5 and 13). They offer brief and memorable summaries of the characteristic qualities that the respective section illustrates.

The arguments in the present part of this article will strongly rest on the assumption that many early Chinese texts in general and the ones under discussion in particular were assembled from snippets that originated from heterogeneous sources and contexts. The notion of composite texts *per se* is neither novel nor controversial in current studies of early Chinese writings, though the interpretative conclusions different scholars draw from it can be.[12] A short methodological digression might nonetheless be in place concerning the criteria employed in the

11 Yang Tianyu 2004 equates *xi* 席 with "laying out" (*puchen* 鋪陳) and translates the sentence as "explaining the good principles of high antiquity" (陳述上古的善道), believing that this refers to the Way of the sages of old. Legge 1885 translates: "The scholar has a precious gem placed upon its mat, with which he is waiting to receive an invitation."

12 The *Lunyu* for instance has long been regarded as a composite text. How to define and distinguish its components and how to apply this general assumption to specific problems of interpretation and historical contextualisation is, however, a matter of discussion. See Brooks / Brooks 1998, Weingarten 2010 and 2011: 191–201, Hunter 2012 and the forthcoming volume of contributions to the conference "The *Lunyu*: A Western Han Text?" (Princeton 2011), edited by Michael J. Hunter, Martin Kern and Weingarten.

present article to postulate the composite nature of a text. In western textual scholarship, the analytic investigation of lost textual sources, editorial techniques that were used to merge them into new texts, and distinct literary forms that became indistinguishably submerged in larger compositions and compilations has first been systematically developed by students of the Bible. Some recent sinological work is indebted to methodological assumptions of Biblical form criticism (*Formkritik*) and adapts them successfully to the analysis of early Chinese writings.[13]

In essence, a text might be assumed to be of a composite nature when instances of discontinuity, inconsistency and repetition occur that affect the style, structure, terminology or topic. Such phenomena can affect the text as a whole or separate units within it. The recurrence of the same concluding formulae to label different textual units pointed out above is a case of inconsistency that manifests itself across the text in its entirety. If the main purpose of the "Conduct of the Classicists" is to present facets of the classicist ethos in a well-ordered manner by clearly separating and labelling contents, then the repeated use of the same label counteracts this purpose. It encourages confusion and misattribution with regard to the contents of separate sections within the chapter.

Contradictory attitudes towards office-holding, a point briefly discussed further below, are a further case in point. But inconsistencies can also occur *within* individual sections of the chapter when the thematic focus shifts within the section or there is a thematic disconnect between the main body of the section and the label in the concluding formula. These points are illustrated by the following example (no. 10), whose main body contains two sections marked by syntactic parallelism and rhyme or assonance (A, C) which are separated by an intervening statement (B).

A

儒有	博學而不窮		Among the classicists are some who study extensively and with no bounds,
	篤行而不倦	[*gons]	who apply themselves diligently without tiring,
	幽居而不淫		who dwell in seclusion without indulging themselves,
	上通而不困	[*khûns]	who, even when gaining access to high ranks, remain unhampered.

B

禮之以和為貴	In matters of etiquette, they value harmony most.

13 See Richter 2002 and 2005 as well as Vogelsang 2011: 99–101, which draws on a list of diagnostic criteria from Steck 1998 and refers to previous scholarship on the composite nature of early Chinese texts.

C

忠信之美		They admire loyalty and faithfulness
優游之法	[*pap]	and emulate those who are free and easy.
慕賢而容眾		They are fond of worthy men and forbearing to everyone.
毀方而瓦合	[*gŏp]	They break off their square angles and fit in like [round] tiles (?).[14]

D

其寬裕有如此者	Such is their leniency and generosity.[15]

This section is framed by the usual formulaic bracket with a two-character label in the coda. The boundary between sections A and C, which are defined by style and sound, coincides with a thematic shift. Part A praises the self-discipline of the classicists who apply themselves diligently and successfully to their tasks. Part C describes their social attitudes and mores. With B, a statement intervenes that is elsewhere attributed to Confucius's disciple You Ruo 有若.[16] Stylistically, it is not aligned with either the preceding or the subsequent part through rhyme or parallelism. Contentwise, it may best be thought of as a motto, presumably backed by the force of authority, that introduces the topic of the agreeable social habits of the classicists. In view of the following portrayal of the classicists' civility, *li* 禮 is here probably to be understood as "polite manners" rather than in the more emphatic sense of "ritual".

The formulaic bracket unites two textual units that each display a high level of internal thematic and stylistic coherence but are only tenuously connected by shared thematic concerns or textual linking mechanisms. The label in the coda further highlights the disconnect between the components of the section. "Leniency and generosity" aptly summarises the classicists' social graces and "forbearance".[17] It is a less apposite characterisation of their self-control and austere working habits. The two-character summary of the coda covers the contents of part C but is of no obvious relevance to part A, a further internal inconsistency of

14 This appears to be an idiomatic turn of phrase which has given translators and commentators some trouble. Legge 1885: 407 translates: "he (is like a potter who) breaks his square (mould), and his tiles are found to fit together". Couvreur 1899: 608 has: "il est bienveillant envers tout le monde: semblable au potier qui adapte ensemble les différentes parties de ses ouvrages en retranchant les angles." These translations, while highlighting the general idea, appear still too much in thrall of the craft analogy. Presumably, the classicist refashions his own personality so that he may fit in like a round tile.

15 Cf. the translations in Legge 1885: 406–407 and Couvreur 1899, vol. 2: 608.

16 *Lunyu* 1.12; *Shiji* 67.2215.

17 The theme of the classicist's forbearance or tolerance, this time vis-à-vis his friends, recurs in no. 15.

this section as a whole. Hence the conclusion appears warranted that the section in question was composed from separate and heterogeneous texts.

A thematic inconsistency across different sections affects the discussion of office-holding. More than half of the section on "official service" (*shi* 仕) is devoted to the frugal living conditions of the classicist who at times may find himself occupying a run-down hovel, forced to make a meal last for two days (no. 8). The issue of official employment is only raised afterwards. The classicist will accept a ruler's positive response without hesitation but not curry favour with him if no such response is forthcoming. The first part of the section chimes well with other passages in the chapter that praise the classicist's moderation and indifference toward material benefits (e.g., no. 4, 5). But the motif of office-holding, ostensibly the theme of the entire section, is introduced very late, almost as an afterthought.

Other themes repeatedly surface at different points in the text. The classicist has a non-assertive attitude (no. 2, 3, 13). He is so steadfast that he will be swayed neither by material gain nor by threats (4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 15, 17), and he selflessly promotes others (11, 12). The recurring references to such qualities can hardly surprise in a text supposed to demonstrate the moral superiority as well as the eminent employability of the classicists.[18] Remarkably, the issue of employment is at the heart of an internal inconsistency. Unit 4 informs the reader that the classicist "will not be seen when the time is not right" (*fei shi bu xian* 非時不見), and section 14 relates that "he does not act as minister to the Son of Heaven above or serve the many lords below" (*shang bu chen tianzi, xia bu shi zhuhou* 上不臣天子，下不事諸侯). According to these claims, the classicist's willingness to engage in politics is predicated on the appropriate circumstances, and the decision as to whether he will participate in government is ultimately his alone. This stands in contrast to two other statements to the effect that "he will not change his place

18 Employability is probably a key concern, while the moral values commonly considered to form the core of Confucian thought only appear in a few sections. The long but atypical section no. 16 (no introductory formula) is exclusively devoted to *ren* 仁. In no. 7, the Confucian core values receive a rather poetical treatment: 儒有忠信以為甲冑，禮義以為干櫓。戴仁而行，抱義而處。, "Some of the classicists make loyalty and trustworthiness their armour and helmet; they make ritual propriety and righteousness their shields. They proceed with benevolence held high, and dwell with righteousness in their embrace." This appears to be a concatenation of two unrelated textual units consisting of two sentences each. The reasons are as follows: (1) The conceptual metaphor of "virtue as weapon" is only found in the first two sentences, then a different metaphor of "virtue as object to be held or carried" follows; (2) in terms of syntactic parallelism, the sentences form two couplets with diverging structures; (3) "righteousness" (*yi* 義) occurs in both couplets, creating terminological redundance.

even under violent rule" (no. 7) and that "he will not dare hesitate when the highest one responds" (no. 8).

A number of themes run through the text like so many leitmotifs: non-assertiveness, steadfastness and independence, modesty, and the willingness to further the careers of others. Even in the absence of a clear argument or thematic development, these recurring topics confer a sense of overall coherence on the chapter. On the other hand, on the crucial issue of availability for official employment the text assumes a contradictory stance. In all likelihood, this is a symptom of the fact that it was assembled from heterogeneous sources and made to fit the larger structural framework of Confucius's speech.

In addition to these observations about the speech's structural features, what can be said about its rhetoric? The beginning of the chapter has its fair share of efficacious language intended to make an impact on the addressee. When Duke Ai expresses his desire to learn more about the "classicists' garments", Confucius cuts him short:

> 君子之學也博．其服也鄉．丘不知儒服．
> The noble man is broadly learned, and his garments are those of his village. I don't know about any "classicists' garments".

Confucius criticises the duke through his ostentatious and, one may imagine, feigned ignorance.[19] The clothing of the classicists is irrelevant. What counts is their abilities and values. The duke's wish to learn about superficial appearances is misguided.

At the end of the chapter, following Confucius's speech, the text returns to the level of the third-person narrative of the introduction in order to document the impact of Confucius's speech. As a consequence of the Master's counsel, the duke became "more trustworthy in his words and more righteous in his conduct." Though cited without the usual incipit, it appears that the duke has the final word:

> 終沒吾世，不敢以儒為戲。
> To the end of my days, I will not presume to make a jest of the name of scholar.[20]

The Master's words have had the desired transformative effect. They are certainly a success in terms of rhetorical efficacy, or so the text wants one to believe.

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19 I plan to address this multiply attested motif in greater detail in the revised version of my dissertation Weingarten 2010. Confucius's criticism of Ai's superficiality is more explicit in *Xunzi* 31 (see App. 3, part II), where the duke enquires about Shun's hat rather than his virtuous governance.

20 Translation from Legge 1885: 410.

But what about the speech as oration, as an act of "strategic communication" aimed at effecting a change desired by the orator?[21] Is it plausible that the impact of the speech on the duke is due to something other than the Master's conventionally assumed superiority? The anecdotal frame of the chapter, in particular the beginning, relates a series of directed and clearly defined speech acts. The duke "enquires with Confucius" about the classicists' garments, and Confucius twice "replies" (*dui* 對) to him, repeatedly referring to himself by his personal name. The communication between the speakers becomes itself a topic of their conversation. The duke uses a formulaic metacommunicative phrase: "May I ask ..." (*gan wen* 敢問), and Confucius utters a lengthy metacommunicative statement about how long it would take for him to expatiate on the "classicist's garments", whereupon the duke has a mat prepared for him to do so at his leisure. In sum, the text sketches in details that create the impression of a genuine verbal interaction, however ahistorical or formulaic the scene as a whole may seem to a contemporary reader.

By contrast, the speech that makes up the largest part of the chapter does not show any such clues as to the pragmatic dimension of the interaction. Confucius as speaker never directly addresses the duke as listener. Confucius makes no attempts to manipulate the duke's emotional state, while such an attempt can be discerned in the mild rebuke implied by Confucius's feigned ignorance in the anecdotal frame. This is evidently a means to arouse an emotional response in the addressee, if only in the form of a vague sense of inadequacy. No comparable manipulative ploys are found in the speech. Nor is there any overt attempt to convince the listener through a well-crafted argument or a particular idea or viewpoint. The speech follows a rigid formulaic pattern that is repetitive and hardly suited to being read as a persuasion or logical demonstration. Confucius does not set the stage for a particular thesis or claim in order to steer the oration toward a climactic moment of insight that will change the duke's mind. Tools of persuasion familiar from other ancient Chinese speeches such as anecdotes, fables, historical examples or broader rhetorical strategies of how to approach the target of a persuasive speech are notably absent.[22] The most obvious stylistic embellishments consist of a few instances of figurative language use that appear largely conventional.[23]

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21 See Knape 2000: 34.

22 On such techniques and strategies as evidenced in *Zhanguo ce* 戰國策 see Goldin 2005. See also Gentz in this volume.

23 No. 7 (cf. above); no. 13: "he bathes his body and cleanses his charisma" (*zao shen yu de* 澡身浴德); no. 14: "he whittles away the edges" (*di li lian yu* 砥厲廉隅) and "even though [he] may be

Most likely, the chapter fits pre-existing material into a new formal framework. Direct evidence for this assumption in the form of parallels in other surviving sources is scarce.[24] But it accounts for the lack of thematic and argumentative progression as well as for the non-systematic recurrence of a certain number of topics in the course of the text. It also explains the internal inconsistency concerning the political involvement of the Ru. A text such as this can serve a number of purposes. For instance its rigid formal structure can aid memorisation. Such a structure may not be as systematic and yet flexible as a memory palace.[25] But nonetheless, the presentation of the material in short, clearly demarcated and labelled blocks should make the content more manageable than it would be if presented in the form of a long, uninterrupted text.

Furthermore, the Confucius figure is used as a source of knowledge. Doing so validates this knowledge and presumably raises the likelihood of its survival. Quite apart from its association with the Confucius figure, the tight textual structure in itself may have also served the latter purpose. Readers are probably more inclined to place trust in the relevance of a text that shows indications of overall coherence rather than in a number of disjointed fragments. An overarching formal structure can be viewed as such an indication, even though it need not translate into strict logical coherence. Finally, the presentation of the material to a ruler and this ruler's unreserved appreciation further highlight the relevance of the teachings, especially for political purposes. The narrative setting of the didactic material thus adumbrates the actual context of its intended application in the real world.

To sum up, there are several reasons why an editor who wishes to gather, preserve and make accessible a body of disjointed didactic material could choose to cast it in the present form of the "Conduct of the Classicists". Despite the fact that the main body of the chapter consists of a speech, none of these reasons is rhetorical, if rhetoric is understood as a strategy to efficiently plan and execute persuasive speech acts. Confucius's speech shows no effort to use efficacious speech in order to create an immediate impact on his listener. None of the tools of

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apportioned a state, this would mean nothing [i.e., precisely a weight of 1/4 + 1/24 *liang* 兩] to him" (*sui fen guo ru zi zhu* 雖分國如錙銖).

24 Some close parallels occur, but they are relatively rare. One section (no. 5) is redolent of the language of characterology (on which see Richter 2005). For the identification of parallels, I have relied on the excellent website of Donald Sturgeon's Chinese Text Project (www.ctext.org).

25 The classic scholarly account of mnemonics in the western tradition is Yates 2001. See also Carruthers 2008, ch. 4, on mnemonics in the middle ages. A very insightful popular account that describes actual applications of the art of memory from the point of view of a practitioner is Foer 2011. On attempts by Matteo Ricci to introduce memory palaces to Chinese scholars, see Spence 1985.

persuasion typically found in ancient Chinese political speeches is employed; no straightforward arguments are presented. One may even say that this chapter is decidedly *a-rhetorical* in that the main purpose for moulding it into its present form is not so much to influence Confucius's interlocutor as to shape the text itself into a repository of didactic material.

2.2 *Da Dai liji*: "Thousand Chariots"

The *Da Dai liji* 大戴禮記 chapter "Thousand Chariots" (Qian sheng 千乘) purports to record a conversation between a master and a duke who both remain unnamed.[26] Several scholars have identified this chapter as part of the lost "Record of Confucius's Three Audiences" (*Kongzi san chao ji* 孔子三朝記) in seven *pian* 篇 recorded in the bibliographic catalogue of the *Hanshu* 漢書.[27] The inclusion into *Da Dai liji* as well as the setting and content – a "master" offering moralistic political advice to a receptive "duke" – agree with the general characteristics of dialogues between Duke Ai and Confucius. One may tentatively assume that the intended reference is to these two protagonists or, otherwise, that this particular dialogue is closely modelled on their interactions in the numerous other extant conversations between them.[28]

The chapter comprises four parts, the first of which is only loosely connected to the rest. The text begins with a brief section that consists exclusively of dialogue. The duke asks what good it would do still to practise "benevolence" (*ren* 仁) in a state of one thousand chariots if the state has already received its charge from the Son of Heaven and has set up the requisite framework of rituals and institutions that legitimises its existence. The master replies that without benevolence "the state will not be changed for the better" (*guo bu hua* 國不化) and explains in response to a further question that benevolence means "not to overindulge in carnality" (*bu yin yu se* 不淫於色). Even though the initial phrase in the duke's question serves as the chapter title, this part of the text may originally

26 For a translation see Grynpas 1967: 162–169.

27 *Hanshu* 30.1717.

28 Yan Shigu 顏師古 (581–645) states in his comment that the *Kongzi san chao ji* recorded conversations between Confucius and Duke Ai and that it was partly preserved in *Da Dai liji*. Several texts quote Liu Xiang's 劉向 (79–8 BCE) "Separate record" (*bielu* 別錄) to this effect as well (see Chen Guoqing 1983: 78–79). On *Da Dai liji* chapters 68–71 and 74–76 as remnants of the *Kongzi san chao ji* from pre-Qin times see Suenaga 2011: 29. Suenaga 2011: 26–27 emphasises the formal consistency of these chapters and the recurrence of certain phrases, both indications that suggest to him common origin. The matter of consistency in "Thousand Chariots" will be addressed in the following analysis.

have formed an independent textual unit. The utterance by Confucius with the incipit *zi yue* 子曰 that marks the end of part I is followed by a much longer speech introduced in the same way. The repeated use of *zi yue* indicates the beginning of a new text. Furthermore, while the three parts that make up the bulk of the chapter (II–IV) share with the duke's initial question the interest in political order, they fail to develop the topics of benevolence and carnality that dominate part I. Parts II to IV each adhere to their own distinctive principle of structural order and thematic emphasis. At the same time, they manifest a thematic convergence through their interest in the institutions and measures essential for the establishment of a functioning political order, a concern already addressed in the duke's initial question.

Part II consists of five sections. In a way reminiscent of the gradually widening scope of socio-political order laid out in the *Daxue* 大學, the sections II.1–4 describe how positions at different levels of political and familial propinquity to the ruler should be filled. This includes the roles of the consort (II.1), the crown prince (II.2), and the ministers (II.3) whose functions are addressed again in II.4 under the collective designation of the "four supports" (*si fu* 四輔) in parallel to the "four limbs" (*si ti* 四體) of the body. As in the "Conduct of the Classicist", the four sections are each demarcated by an introductory formula ([*li* 立] X *she ru* 設如 Y [*ran* 然]) and a coda (*ci guo jia zhi suo yi* ... *ye* 此國家之所以 ... 也).

Part II.4 displays a structural irregularity. The introductory formula is preceded by a definition of the "four supports" as "ministers" (*qing* 卿), probably an interpolated commentarial gloss. II.5 is atypical in that it shares the coda with the preceding parts but lacks the introductory formula. Furthermore, it differs thematically from the preceding sections. In a group of syntactically parallel sentences, it sets out six principles on which the rule of the "former kings" (*xian wang* 先王) was based. This use of six stands in contrast to the dominance of the numbers four and, to a lesser extent, five in the rest of the text.[29] The thematic shift, however, seems more significant. In some respect, II.4 serves as an apt conclusion to part II. It widens the scope of concern to include more general princi-

29 The number four occurs elsewhere in the text: *si jiang* 四疆 "border regions of the four cardinal directions" (I, III.1); *si zuo* 四佐 "four assistants" (I, II.4, III); *si fu* 四輔 "four supports" (II.4); *si ti* 四體 "four limbs" (II.4); *si wei* 四衛 "protection of the four regions" (III.2); *si fang* 四方 "four cardinal directions" (III.2). The number five also occurs: *wu guan* 五官 "five offices" (I, II.2); *wu gu* 五穀 "five kinds of grain" (III.3, IV.2, IV. 3); *wu bing* 五兵 "five kinds of weapons" (III.3); *wu wei* 五味 "five kinds of flavours" (IV.2); *wu fang* 五方 "the five regions" in the four cardinal directions and the centre (IV.2). Some of these such as *si jiang*, *si ti*, *si fang* and *wu gu*, may be purely conventional. Other terms may have stronger cosmological (*wu fang*) and political (*si fu*, *wu guan*) overtones and thus indicate allegiances with distinct ideological orientations which, in this case, would be blended together in the chapter under investigation.

ples of government. On the other hand, it breaks with the established structural pattern of part II and sits uneasily with the preceding sections since it fails to connect to the previous thematic focus on how to invest selected individuals with political functions. Part II.5 thus introduces an element of structural and thematic heterogeneity into the chapter, especially in view of the thematic focus of the following part.

Part III revisits the concern with institutional order that dominated the previous two parts. It addresses how the ruler should "establish the positions of the four assistants and make official appointments [to these posts]" (*she qi si zuo er guan zhi* 設其四佐而官之). The "four assistants" are the Minister of Instruction (*situ* 司徒), the Minister of War (*sima* 司馬), the Minister of Justice (*sikou* 司寇), and the Minister of Public Works (*sikong* 司空).[30] The remit of these positions is described one by one according to a fixed pattern. They are "in charge of" (*dian* 典, *si* 司) one season each. A general description of their duties follows which is detailed in two cases (III.1, III.3) but comparatively short in the other two (III.2, III.4). The seasonal character of the offices is stressed again in the concluding sections which stipulate their activities in the third month of the season with which they are entrusted, and concludes in each case with the phrase "and so he completes the duties of [the season in question]" (*yi cheng* 以成 X *shi* 事).[31]

Part IV is distinct from III structurally as well as in terms of content. It is tenuously connected to III through a question by the duke that recalls the overall setting of the text. Part IV displays two separate structural patterns. IV.1 thrice juxtaposes the state of the people in an idealised past with their present condition of suffering and insecurity. This diagnosis leads to IV.2, which sets out a remedy. Included in this section is a highly formulaic sketch of cultural geography that assigns pride of place to the "central states" (*zhong guo* 中國) over their supposedly inferior neighbours in the four directions. Some of these are not sufficiently civilised to cook their food. Given the variability of the environment and the resulting divergence of living conditions, the ruler's duty is to establish settlements in locations that are conducive to human welfare and agriculture, and to furnish them with such elements of infrastructure as moats, walls and markets. Confucius's speech ends with an emphatic invocation of the positive effects of good rule:

30 For similarities and differences between this passage and *Liji* 5, "Wang zhi" 王制 as well as the system of offices in the *Zhouli* 周禮 see Suenaga 2011: 29.

31 This formula is missing from III.4. Presumably due to a textual error, it occurs later in the chapter in an unrelated passage (see the shaded sentences in IV.2).

> 民咸知孤寡之必不末也，咸知有大功之必進等也，咸知用勞力之必以時息也。推而內之水火，入也弗之顧矣，而況有強適在前，有君長正之者乎？
> People will all know that the widowed and orphaned will always be spared infirmity;[32] they will all know that those with great merits will invariably advance through the ranks; they will all know that those who toil away putting to use their physical strength will invariably find rest according to the seasons. If you push them into fire or water, they will enter it without turning back. How much the more so when there are a ruler and elders present to set them straight in the face of a strong enemy?

Compared to Confucius's initial remarks on "changing the state for the better" and "benevolence", this alters the focus of concern significantly. The master's elaborate explanations as to the establishment of consorts, successors and ministers; his systematic exposition of the offices of the "four assistants" and their respective purview; and his diagnosis of the ills of the present and ways of curing them through the creation of sound institutional foundations: Looking back from the culmination of his speech, all these carefully thought-out arrangements turn out to serve the sole objective of preparing the populace for military confrontation. This premise presents the relationship between the ruler and the ruled as a transaction in which patriarchal care is bestowed upon the people in exchange for their readiness to sacrifice themselves. This is, of course, to interpret the text retrospectively from its final section, even though its parts may be independent creations. Alternatively, in an interpretation proceeding from the tenets stated at the beginning with its invocation of the moral transformation of the state, the chapter would present itself as a blueprint for a humane political organisation. This contradiction as well as the chapter's tripartite structure both bespeak its character as a compilation from pre-existing sources.

While rhymes seem to be largely absent, otherwise the degree of stylistic patterning is higher than in the "Conduct of the Classicists", as can be seen for instance in the series of six syntactically parallel sentences in II.5 and IV.2, and in the statements that juxtapose the conditions of the past with those of the present (IV.1). The purpose of the two chapters, however, is probably very much the same: to preserve a body of didactic texts within a single overarching framework that validates their contents and aids in their study as well as their memorisation.

32 *Guangya* 廣雅 glosses *mo* 末 as *shuai* 衰 "decline, weak" (Zong Fubang ed. 2003: 1066, no. 28).

2.3 *Xunzi*: "Duke Ai"

Xunzi chapter 31, "Duke Ai" (Ai gong 哀公), is of interest for at least two reasons. Like the texts previously discussed, it illustrates how didactic material is being incorporated into speeches that serve as literary means to integrate these materials into larger meaningful contexts. More importantly, read in conjunction with parallels in other books, it exemplifies editorial techniques that were used to merge disparate materials into longer texts held together by a single dialogic or narrative framework.

The chapter consists of five conversations between Duke Ai and Confucius and one conversation between Duke Ding 定 of Lu (r. 509–495 BCE) and Yan Yuan 顏淵.[33] With some variants, part I is also attested as *Da Dai liji* chapter 40, "Ai gong wen" 哀公問. Parts I, III and V are incorporated into the seventh chapter of *Kongzi jiayu*, "Wu yi jie" 五儀解.[34] The latter version in particular offers insights into editorial techniques which, understood as responses to the structure of the *Xunzi* text, can be read as indirect reflections of the text's early reception. They may also exemplify common editorial practices of utilising pre-existing texts. These issues will be addressed in greater detail after the following analysis of the first part of *Xunzi* 31 as an example of a systematising didactic text in a dialogic guise.

"Duke Ai" opens with an enquiry by the duke about "men of service" in the state of Lu and about methods of selecting suitable candidates for office from this group. In a reversal of the attitude espoused at the beginning of the "Conduct of the Classicists", the Confucius figure of this text insists on the significance of clothing as an indicator of inner attitudes:

> 生今之世，志古之道；居今之俗，服古之服；舍此而為非者，不亦鮮乎！
> Among [the men who are] born into this era but set their minds on the principles of antiquity and who dwell among the customs of the present but wear the garments of antiquity, rare are those indeed who will cast all this aside to commit wrongs![35]

Immediately afterwards, the force of this observation is attenuated in a near-parallel to these sentences. It is formed by Confucius's response to the duke's

33 The phrase Lu Ai *gong wen yu* Kongzi *yue* 魯哀公問於孔子曰, which occurs five times in the chapter, is here taken to mark the beginning of a new conversation.

34 Please refer to Appendix 2 for a synopsis.

35 The same topic is reflected in the brief fourth conversation, which begins with the question: "Are broad sashes and the caps of the Zhou and Shang conducive to benevolence" (紳委章甫有益於仁乎)?

further enquiry as to whether appropriate clothing is an unfailing indication of "worthiness" (*xian* 賢):

> 舍此而為非者，雖有，不亦鮮乎！
> There may be some who cast all this aside to commit wrongs, but they will indeed be rare.

An "excellent" reply, the duke exclaims. This section has a close parallel in part IV of *Xunzi* 31, which is found neither in *Da Dai liji* nor in *Kongzi jiayu*.

This could have been the end of the conversation (hence this is marked as the end of I.A), but instead Confucius goes on to point out, in a fairly abrupt manner, that "there are five gradations among people" (*ren you wu yi* 人有五儀): mediocre men, men of service, noble men, worthy men, and great sages. From here on, the give and take of conversation continues with the regularity of a clockwork. The duke enquires in turn about each of the five personality types in the order of Confucius's statement that implies a ranking of increasing approval. Confucius responds with characterisations that begin with the formula "What is called a ..." (*suo wei ... zhe* 所謂 ... 者), and end with the phrase "If someone is like this, he may be called ..." (*ru/ruo ci ze ke wei ... yi* 如 / 若此則可謂 ... 矣).[36] After the final characterisation of the sage – the most appreciative and elaborate one – the duke simply exclaims "Excellent!", and the chapter moves on to another conversation about the cap of Shun.

Part I.B displays the marks of a didactic text: enumeration of main terms and initial indexing of contents; a clear structure delimiting individual textual units; recurring formulas; and repetition for the purpose of consolidation. Technically speaking, Confucius is not holding a monologue. He is regularly interrupted by the duke's monotonous expressions of agreement. But the impression created by these interruptions is certainly not that of a genuine conversation, and it is unlikely that they were inserted to mimic the flow of a conversation. Their purpose is not immediately obvious. One possible explanation is that they reinforce the separation between the five sections of the personality catalogue, which are already defined as separate units by their formulaic brackets.

As pointed out before, the link between I.A and I.B can seem tenuous to a reader expecting high thematic and narrative coherence. This is even more evident in *Da Dai liji*, where the beginning of *Xunzi* I.B.1 with its enunciation of the five gradations and their referents is missing, so that the duke's question about the "mediocre men" appears to come out of nowhere. Within the *Xunzi* chapter,

36 This phrase is missing from I.B.4 about the *junzi*; *Kongzi jiayu* mirrors this irregularity. *Da Dai liji* has the regular phrase.

the phrase "Duke Ai enquired with Confucius" serves to indicate the beginning of a new conversation. Its absence in this place argues for a connection between the two parts in the mind of the *Xunzi* author or editor. A few interesting variants in the *Kongzi jiayu* suggest, however, that although early readers considered I.A and I.B part of the same conversation, they likewise perceived their connection to be weak.

In *Xunzi* and *Da Dai liji*, the duke's reaction at the end of I.A consists of a single word: "Excellent!" In *Kongzi jiayu*, this exclamation is followed by a further question: "Does that exhaust [the topic]?" (*jin ci er yi hu* 盡此而已乎？). This provides at least a minimal motivation for Confucius's pronouncement on the "five grades" of people, which now reads like the response to a question. Probably in order to tighten the link further, *Kongzi jiayu* also adds a sentence to Confucius's reply: "If you examine these five, you will find that the principles of governance are exhausted [by them]" (審此五者，則治道畢矣。). The word *bi* 畢 "complete(ly)" echoes *jin* 盡 "exhaust" in the duke's question. The connection between I.A and I.B plays out on a pragmatic as well as on a semantic level.[37]

In his editorial refashioning of the *Xunzi* chapter, Wang Su 王肅 (195–256 CE), the person likely to have given the *Kongzi jiayu* its present form, went even further.[38] He deleted the entire second part of the *Xunzi*, which is marked as a sepa-

37 A number of early commentaries on canonical and non-canonical texts use *jin* to gloss *bi* (Zong Fubang ed. 2003: 1485).

38 The authenticity of the *Kongzi jiayu* has been a long-standing matter of debate. Though the collection was comprehensively dismissed as a forgery by several Qing scholars (Kramers 1950: 31–32), Kramers (1950: 137) drew the tentative conclusion that Wang Su came into possession of a collection of much older Confucius lore and that either he or someone close to him tampered with the preface to make Kong Anguo 孔安國 (d. c. 100 BCE) appear as the original editor. In Kramers's (1950: 191–193) opinion, the *Kongzi jiayu* was supposed to serve as a complement to the *Lunyu* and consists of two distinct elements: (1) Confucius lore that considerably predates Wang Su's lifetime and was partly drawn from other extant collections such as *Shuoyuan* and polished by Wang or someone close to him; and (2) "series of texts, passages and sentences" propounding Wang Su's ideas about ritual and Confucius as a sage but ultimately human figure that countered the New Text apotheosis of Confucius as prophet and uncrowned king. More recently, a manuscript retrospectively entitled *Rujia zhe yan* 儒家者言 (excavated in Dingzhou 定州 in 1973; *terminus ante quem*: 55 BCE) and brief references to anecdotal lore on wooden boards from Shuanggudui 雙古堆 (excavated in 1977; *terminus ante quem*: 165 BCE) that probably served as labels for entombed manuscript scrolls have given rise to various attempts by Chinese scholars to rehabilitate the *Kongzi jiayu* as a compilation by Kong Anguo that was part of a genuine Kong family tradition of learning. See Huang Huaixin 2011: 331–334 on previous Chinese scholarship and 335ff. for textual comparisons with *Rujia zhe yan*. Summing up his previous discussions which, on the whole, fall short of the quality of Kramers's scholarship, Huang (2011: 376) comprehensively affirms the authenticity of the *Kongzi jiayu*. Fukuda (2005: 69–78, 106–114) demonstrates in a series of detailed analyses that the manuscripts give no reason to believe that the

rate conversation by the initial phrase "Duke Ai of Lu enquired with Confucius".[39] He also expunged this phrase from the parallel to the beginning of part III, where it marks the start of the third conversation in *Xunzi* 31, and he rewrote the duke's words at the end of part II and the beginning of part III in order to merge these two parts. The duke's utterance now acts like a hinge between them. First, the duke concludes the conversation of part I by praising and thanking Confucius rather than just exclaiming "Excellent!", as in *Xunzi*:

> 善哉！非子之賢，則寡人不得聞此言也。
> Exellent indeed! *Were it not for your capability, I would never get to hear such words*!

Then, by adding a simple concessive clause at the beginning and a reference to the "five gradations" at the end, the *Kongzi jiayu* author has the duke move on to the next topic:

> 雖然，寡人生於深宮之內，長於婦人之手，未嘗知哀，未嘗知憂，未嘗知勞，未嘗知懼，未嘗知危，恐不足以行五儀之教，若何？
> *Though this may be the case*, I was born in the seclusion of the inner palace chambers and brought up by the hands of women. I never got to know sadness, melancholy, exhaustion, fear or danger. *I am afraid I may not have it in me to carry out the teachings about the five gradations. What can I do?*

Further changes to the older text follow. In *Xunzi*, Confucius praises Ai for asking the question of a "sage ruler" and expresses doubts that he, a mere "petty man", could have any understanding of the issue. *Kongzi jiayu* deletes this and adds instead:

> 如君之言，已知之矣，則丘亦無所聞焉。
> According to your words, you do already understand this, so I won't have anything to make known to you.

Kongzi jiayu already existed in its present form during the Han. Especially in view of its numerous parallels in pre-Qin and Han works, however, it is important to note that the *Kongzi jiayu* as a whole, without the "series of texts, passages and sentences" that were likely added in the third century CE, reflects Confucius lore that was already in circulation in the third and second centuries BCE. It may, however, be "impossible to tell how much [*sic*] of its *variae lectiones* are due to the editor of the third century A.D. who may have polished the style of a good many texts" (Kramers 1950: 198).

39 The fact that in the original version the conversation ended here is also indicated by the variant in *Da Dai liji*, which states after the duke's final exclamation: "When Master Kong left, Duke Ai accompanied him". This is the end of the *Da Dai liji* parallel to *Xunzi* 31 and *Kongzi jiayu* 7.

This eliminates an expression of self-deprecation that may have seemed excessive to an admirer of the Master. Read as a move within the communicative game of dialogic exchange, the new utterance can also be understood as a reminder that the five gradations have already been satisfactorily dealt with. This makes sense in two respects. Confucius already expounded the five gradations in the previous exchange. Furthermore, the *Xunzi* version of Confucius's subsequent speech does not address the five gradations at all. Even though the *Kongzi jiayu* author extensively rewrites the speech, he does not alter its character as an explanation of how the duke can gain an understanding of the previously mentioned five states (sadness, melancholy, exhaustion, fear, danger) from observations of his courtly surroundings without experiencing them in person. The *Kongzi jiayu* author does not insert the five gradations into the main body of the speech. But at the end, he adds a few more sentences:

> 君既明此五者，又少留意於五儀之事，則於政治何有失矣！
> If you have achieved clarity about these five [states] and let your mind dwell less on the affairs of the five gradations, then how could you possibly go wrong in governance?

Like the other deletions and changes, this addition serves to increase at least superficially the overall coherence of a text that has been created from two separate sources. Contentwise, the connection does not seem warranted since it is not clear how, and why, an insight into the five states could substitute for a knowledge of the five gradations of people.

If one accepts the general consensus that Wang Su gave the *Kongzi jiayu* its present form, one has to regard the editorial changes discussed here as the doings of a third-century CE author or editor (the dividing line is blurred) intent on fashioning a book from older sources that he could pass off as a genuine work from antiquity. One should then be wary of the possibility that observations about this kind of book may not be pertinent to one's understanding of how pre-Qin or early Han authors and editors worked. Nonetheless, I would argue that Wang Su's approach to textual refashioning was in all likelihood not so different from those who came before him. Traces of a similar editorial activity are still visible in the *Xunzi* chapter under discussion, as will be argued below.

Let us recall that the connection between parts I.A and I.B in *Xunzi* was rather weak. It can only be inferred from the structure of the whole chapter (the intratextual repetition of Lu Ai *gong wen yu* Kongzi *yue* 魯哀公問於孔子曰 to mark the beginning of a new conversation), but it seemed acceptable to the editor of the *Da Dai liji* parallel who left it unchanged.

The *Kongzi jiayu* author, on the other hand, added two sentences at the critical juncture between I.A and I.B to strengthen the connection between the sec-

tions on the lexical level and from the point of view of how the conversation develops. We can reconstruct the editorial changes he introduced because earlier versions are attested in *Xunzi* and *Da Dai liji*. We can even speculate that he introduced them in order to create a smoother, more coherent and readable text. By the same token, we can assume that whoever produced the *Xunzi* version also brought together two disparate texts (I.A and I.B). Unlike the case of *Kongzi jiayu*, external evidence that could help to buttress these speculations is absent. But there is an internal indication that points to parts I and II as originally independent units. Part IV is thematically and lexically reminiscent of parts I.A.1–2, so much so that it may justifiably be considered a variant version of these. This further strengthens the hypothesis that parts I and II were separate texts before the *Xunzi* author brought them together within a new, somewhat tenuous editorial framework.

From this perspective, the *Kongzi jiayu* author only continued an approach to the text(s) that was already prefigured in the work of the author of *Xunzi* 31. Wang Su may have come later than the *Xunzi* author(s), and he might have been more hands-on in his willingness to change the text, but in his readiness to merge unrelated texts his attitude was not different in principle.

2.4 Conclusion

The setting of the three dialogues in *Liji*, *Da Dai liji*, and *Xunzi* discussed above would seem to encourage dazzling displays of political rhetoric. After all, the errant Confucius of the *Shiji* displays some characteristics of the travelling persuader, and Duke Ai was a truly "lamentable" prince who lost control over his domain (this may be reflected in the anxious remarks about his upbringing in *Xunzi* 31 and *Kongzi jiayu*). Was he not in need of a sage counsellor who could baldly point out his flaws? Yet, the Master's performances feel insipid in comparison to the spiced-up oratory that dominates the *Zhanguo ce* 戰國策. They are, in fact, markedly a-rhetorical in that the greatest authorial and editorial efforts are not expended on the development of efficacious language. The speeches in these texts are not fashioned as persuasions likely to sway the opinion of the listener in the text. In fact, they do not address any contested issues calling for a consensus or change of mind. They are expository and adhere to the default assumption that the authority of the sage will ultimately manifest itself. Nor do the speeches aim to create a persuasive impact on the user of the text. Rather, they gather and facilitate access to didactic textual materials of heterogeneous origin. They also validate the contents of these materials by conferring an overarching structure on them, often in the form of a formulaic frame that adds a recurring phrase each at

the beginning and at the end of shorter textual units. One effect of such a recasting of didactic material was probably to raise the likelihood of its continued transmission and, hence, of its long-term survival.

This editorial programme defines the role of the Confucius figure in these texts. His function is to enable the creation of new texts with a coherent appearance from disparate pre-existing materials. These writings do not prove or contribute to his authoritative status. They are parasitical on it, depending on the Master's authority to enhance the significance of the textual material they collect. The Master's role is thus reduced to a mere textual function. A similar reduction of Confucius's person to a function can be observed in a certain type of dialogue, the scene of instruction discussed in the following section, although he plays a more active part in these texts than in the encounters with Duke Ai.

3 The master and the disciples

Readers of the *Lunyu* will find in it ample accounts of interactions between Confucius and his followers, who often receive comments in a tone ranging from pithy to enigmatic. The *Lunyu* also attests to the Master's wry humour and his inability to suppress the occasional caustic aside.[40] All this argues against the tendency among later exegetes to identify the *Lunyu* as a scripture aiming at the ultimate canonisation of the sage. Read with a greater sense of nuance, it turns out to be a surprisingly human – and humane – portrayal of Confucius, probably less reverential in some respects than one might at first expect in the light of the veneration typical of later ages. This does not mean that Confucius the stern teacher of unassailable authority did not exist. But we are more likely to encounter this stereotypical persona *outside* the *Lunyu*. It is to such texts that I will now turn in order to discuss a number of dialogues and anecdotes that share a recurring formula predominantly found in Confucian texts.[41]

40 See the now classic study Harbsmeier 1990.

41 The term "Confucian" has its problems, of course. "Confucian anecdotes" should be understood here as a convenient reference to narratives that form part of compilations classified as *ru* 儒 writings in traditional bibliography or as narratives depicting Confucius and his disciples in an affirmative manner. In reaction to recent work that questions the appositeness of the translation "Confucian" for *ru* as a matter of principle, Harbsmeier 2013: 3 demonstrates through a close reading of selected examples that "in many cases this translation imposes itself not only as natural but also correct".

3.1 "Sit down, I will tell you something!"

Texts that report encounters between Confucius and his disciples rarely provide a great deal of contextual information. Whatever hints about the speech situation or the relationship between the speakers can be gleaned from the text are overwhelmingly embedded in the utterances of the interlocutors. Descriptions of gestures or actions are minimalistic and generally restricted to stereotypical phrases such as "he vacated his mat" (*bi xi* 避席) as an expression of agitation. It is thus all the more important to explore the ways in which speakers through their choice of words define their relationships and offer clues as to the setting in which they communicate. To do so requires close attention to phraseology. The following traces the uses of a single phrase that frequently occurs in Confucian scenes of instruction: "I will tell you [something]!" (*wu yu ru* 吾語汝).

A good example of the use of the formula in scenes of instruction can be found in the *Liji* chapter "Confucius Dwelt in Private" (Zhongni yan ju 仲尼燕居).[42] At the beginning, we encounter Confucius surrounded by three of his disciples:

> 仲尼燕居，子張、子貢、言游侍，縱言至於禮。子曰：「居！女三人者，吾語女禮，使女以禮周流無不遍也。」子貢越席而對曰：「敢問何如？」子曰：「敬而不中禮，謂之野；恭而不中禮，謂之給；勇而不中禮，謂之逆。」
>
> When Zhongni was dwelling in private, with Zizhang, Zigong and Yan You in attendance, their conversation went on from general matters to the subject of ritual propriety. The Master said: "Sit down, all three of you! I will talk to you about ritual propriety so you can apply it all around, not failing to cover everything." Zigong crossed over the mat and replied: "May I ask what it is like?" The Master said: "Not conforming to ritual propriety when one is showing respect is called rusticity; not conforming to ritual propriety when one is showing reverence is called glibness; not conforming to ritual propriety when showing one's courage is called rebelliousness."[43]

The setting of this congregation lacks specificity. It is only possible to establish that it does not take place at court.[44] The disciples "are in attendance": they accompany a higher-ranking personality.[45] Confucius's "I will talk to you" is

42 Detailed references to the texts discussed in this section are listed in Appendix 3, where multiply attested versions are grouped together. For this chapter see Appendix 4.1, no. 9.

43 Translation partly based on Legge 1885: 270; cf. also Couvreur 1899, vol. 2: 377–378.

44 Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127–200) defines *yan ju* 燕居 as *tui chao er chu* 退朝而處 "staying somewhere after one has retired from court" (quoted in Sun Xidan 1989: 1267).

45 Huang Kan 皇侃 (488–545) and Lu Deming 陸德明 (550–630) define *shi* 侍 as *beizhe zai zunzhe zhi ce* 卑者在尊者之側 "one of lower rank is at the side of an esteemed person", and in one specific context, Zheng Xuan glosses it as *yu jun yin* 與君飲 "drinking with a prince" (Zong Fubang ed. 2003: 110: no. 8, 9, 18).

preceded by a command: "Sit down!" One may imagine the disciples standing in attendance prior to this order. The prospect of receiving the Master's instructions on ritual propriety is so exciting as to set Zigong aflutter with anticipation: He "crosses the mat", meaning either that he is talking out of turn, as some commentators suggest, or that he steps forward from the mat on which he is seated.[46] The scene thus conjured up with a few strokes of the narrative brush shows an exalted Master surrounded by deferential followers who eagerly await his instructions. The phrase "I will talk to you" focuses attention on the doctrinal content Confucius conveys to his disciples. It marks both his role as the source of important teachings and the significance of the statement that follows.

The characteristics of this scene can be summed up as follows: (1) a strong focus on the act and contents of instruction; (2) a mostly passive role for the disciples; (3) an emphasis on the hierarchical relationship between Master and disciples; (4) a tendency to invoke general observations and normative principles in teaching rather than concrete examples. By and large, this set of characteristics holds for the majority of texts in which Confucius uses the phrase "I will talk to you" or some close variant. Due to the lack of situational specificity, these scenes create the impression that the act of instruction is the original purpose of the social interaction. The reader is almost made to feel that he is eavesdropping on exchanges in an educational setting such as a school or academy.

The same dialogue from which the above passage is taken contains two further occurrences of *wu yu ru* later on. The first one is directed at all three disciples present and introduces a detailed exposition of rituals conducted during encounters between rulers. The second one responds specifically to a question on governance by Zizhang. Here, a terse statement follows *wu yu ru*:

> 君子明於禮樂，舉而錯之而已。
> The gentleman has a clear understanding of ritual and music – he merely takes them and applies them.[47]

Likewise, Confucius uses the phrase to mark the beginning of his speech on music in the "Notes on Music" (Yue ji 樂記) of the *Liji* (App. 4.1: no. 16). Asked by an unnamed follower why he executed Assistant Mao (*shaozheng* Mao 少正卯), Confucius utters the phrase and then recites a numbered catalogue of punishable offences in rhymes. This chimes in with the use of the formula since such cata-

46 For the idea that the disciples are seated in order of seniority and expected to speak in this order, see the comments in Sun Xidan 1989: 1267. Both Legge and Couvreur 1899, vol. 2: 378 follow this interpretation.

47 The translation of the second sentences follows Legge 1885: 276.

logues are the epitome of didacticism (App. 4.1: no. 15).[48] *Wu yu ru* introduces a numbered catalogue, the "five evocations" (*wu qi* 五起) in a speech to Zixia from *Kongzi jiayu* (App. 4.1: no. 12),[49] and in the catalogue of the "six becloudings" (*liu bi* 六蔽) in the *Lunyu* (App. 4.1: no. 1).[50] Numbered catalogues such as the "seven lessons" and "three ultimates" (*qi jiao* 七教 and *san zhi* 三至) also feature in Confucius's speech on successful politics to Zengzi 曾子 (App. 4.1: no. 8), further reinforcing the sense that *wu yu ru* is used to draw attention to core didactic contents.

In a conversation with Zengzi in the *Xiaojing* 孝經, Confucius expatiates on the essence of filial piety (App. 4.1: no. 7):

> 夫孝，德之本也，教之所由生也。復坐，吾語汝。身體髮膚，受之父母，不敢毀傷，孝之始也。
> Filial piety is the root of virtue and the origin of [moral] instruction. Sit down again, I will tell you. All the parts of the body as well as hair and skin are received from one's parents. That one shall not dare to harm or destroy them, therein lies the beginning of filial piety.

Even more emphatic is Confucius's effort in a *Da Dai liji* chapter to impress the importance of his teachings on one of his disciples. Zigong has just returned from a conversation with the eponymous "Wenzi, general of Wei" (Wei jiangjun Wenzi 衛將軍文子), to whom he has presented a list of character evaluations of the other disciples.[51] He recounts to Confucius exactly what he has told the general. The Master reacts partly amused and partly determined to put the talkative student in his place (App. 4.1: no. 10):

> 孔子既聞之，笑曰：「賜，汝偉為知人，賜！」子貢對曰：「賜也焉能知人，此賜之所親睹也。」孔子曰：「是女所親也。吾語女耳之所未聞，目之所未見，思之所未至，智之所未及者乎！」
> When Master Kong had finished listening to him, he laughed and said: "O Ci! How magnificently you understand people, Ci." Zigong replied: "How could *I* understand people? This is [merely] what I have seen with my own eyes!" Master Kong said: "This is what you know from personal experience. I will tell you something that your ears have never heard, your eyes have never seen, your thoughts have never extended to, and your wits have not yet caught up with!"

48 On the didactic functions of numbered catalogues in early Chinese texts see Richter 2013: 128.
49 This part is missing from the parallels and very likely forms a later addition; see Richter 2013: ch. 5; for the translation of *wu qi* as "five evocations" see Richter 2013: 163.
50 The translation is from Legge 1861: 186.
51 The identity of the general is not clear. Some commentators have seen in him a fourth-generation descendant of Duke Ling 靈 of Wei (534–493 BCE). See Huang Huaixin et al. 2004: 668–669; Grynpas 1967: 118 n. 1.

The Master then presents a list of exemplary personalities of the past that follows the same format as Zigong's previous speech to the general. The quoted passage that forms the bridge between the two speeches underlines the superiority of the teacher over his disciple and also marks the greater importance of the second speech in comparison to the first. The phrase "I will tell you" marks a critical juncture in the unfolding of the text.

A dialogue transmitted in *Shuoyuan* 說苑 and elsewhere (App. 4.1: no. 11) is slightly atypical insofar as it combines *wu yu ru* with character evaluations. Confucius explains to Zixia that four of his disciples are each superior to him in one particular respect. Yan Hui is more trustworthy, Zigong (Duanmu Ci) more quick-witted, and Zilu more courageous. Zhuansun Shi (Zizhang) shows a more severe attitude. To Zixia's astonished question as to why, under these circumstances, the four would serve him at all, Confucius responds by pointing out the disciples' lack of flexibility:

> 坐，吾語汝。回能信而不能反，賜能敏而不能屈，由能勇而不能怯，師能莊而不能同。兼此四子者，丘不為也。夫所謂至聖之士，必見進退之利，屈伸之用者也。
> Sit down, I will tell you. Hui is capable of trustworthiness, but not of resistance. Si is able to exert his wits but cannot hold back. You [i.e. Zilu] is capable of courage, but not of timidity. Shi is capable of severity, but not of making concessions. I would not even want to unite all the [qualities] of these four gentlemen in me. A man of service of the utmost sageliness will invariably be aware of the respective benefits flowing from advancing and withdrawing, and of the respective uses that it has to flex one's strength or to hold back.

In almost all of these cases, the setting is understood to be a scene of instruction. Confucius is the main speaker; the addressees of his words are his disciples. In addition, three passages have Zengzi on record as using "I will tell you" (App. 4.2), but none of the other disciples is attested as having used it. The settings in which Zengzi pronounces the formula generally conform to the characteristics of the scene of instruction as outlined before. This agrees with a tendency in some texts to present Zengzi as the legitimate successor to Confucius.[52]

One group of texts in which the phrase occurs differs in certain respects from the usual scene of instruction. The distress narratives (App. 4.1: no. 4), a distinct group of travel anecdotes that depict Confucius and his disciples in situations of danger or as being under attack, all cast Zilu in the role of Confucius's main interlocutor.[53] In keeping with Zilu's wide-spread characterisations as impetuous and rustic (the term *ye* 野 is frequently used), they show Confucius taking an admon-

52 See Weingarten 2010: ch. 3.6.

53 On these narratives see Makeham 1998.

itory stance toward the disciple, who expresses his unhappiness about the situation in which he finds himself in unmistakable terms. In several of the anecdotes, "I will tell you" co-occurs with critical or pejorative remarks such as "You, you don't know" (You *bu shi* 由不識; *Xunzi* 28), "You, this is something you don't know yet" (You *wei zhi shi ye* 由未之識也; *Kongzi jiayu* 20), and "You don't understand" (*ru bu zhi* 汝不知; *Shuoyuan* 17). In one case (*Hanshi waizhuan* 韓詩外傳 7), Confucius even chides Zilu a "petty man" (*xiao ren* 小人). Only two texts from this group resemble the usual scene of instruction insofar as Zilu asks a critical, though not accusatory question, which elicits an instructional response that lacks the severe admonitory tenor of other replies (*Zhuangzi* 17, *Kongzi jiayu* 22).

One obvious reason for these similarities is the fact that the distress narratives are of closely related origins and subject matter. They all treat the same episodes in Confucius's life, and some of the texts are probably derived from some of the others. On a more general level, they also reflect a stereotypical image of Zilu which finds expression in two additional anecdotes with the phrase *wu yu ru*. In the first of these, transmitted in *Xunzi* chapter 29, "Zi dao" 子道, and elsewhere, Confucius upbraids the disciple for his ostentatious attire. Zilu takes his point and changes into more modest clothes, whereupon the Master offers him advice on how to prioritise substance over appearance, introduced by "I will tell you" (App. 4.1: no. 2). Here, the admonition is not part of the Master's instruction but instead precedes it. Yet, as in other interactions, the phrase is closely associated with an admonitory speech act. Another exchange between Confucius and Zilu involving *wu yu ru* in *Xunzi* 29 follows more closely the pattern of the scene of instruction (App. 4.1: no. 3).

The second text involving both "I will tell you" and an admonition directed at Zilu is found in an unexpected place, the "Old Fisherman" (App. 4.1: no. 6), one of two texts from *Zhuangzi* that record a scene of instruction between Confucius and a disciple (see also no. 17). Confucius meets an unnamed fisherman in the wilderness, the encounter with a wise recluse being a motif attested elsewhere. Following a speech by the fisherman that deftly punctures the Master's sense of mission and self-worth, Zilu professes his disbelief in Confucius's willingness to abase himself in front of some uncouth outsider, going so far as to "bend himself into the shape of a chiming stone" (*qing zhe* 磬折). Confucius will have none of it:

> 進！吾語汝。夫遇長不敬，失禮也；見賢不尊，不仁也。 [...] 惜哉！不仁之於人也，禍莫大焉，而由獨擅之。
>
> Come forward! I will tell you. Now, being disrespectful on encountering elders amounts to a loss of good form. To be irreverent on seeing a worthy man is not benevolent. [...] Alas, there is no greater misfortune for a man than a lack of benevolence, and you of all men act precisely in this way!

Here as before, elements of the scene of instruction (a piece of wisdom phrased in highly general terms) mesh with an admonitory thrust. The passage also calls attention to the kind of utterances that tend to co-occur with "I will tell you". The phrase is often combined with commands. Confucius tells Zilu to "come forward" (*jin* 進) in the fisherman anecdote and likewise orders Zizhang to "step forward" (*qian* 前) in the *Liji* (App. 4.1: no. 9). In a number of texts, some already quoted above (App. 4.1: no. 8, 11, 14, 16), Confucius commands students to "Sit down" (*ju* 居 or *zuo* 坐) or to "Sit down again" (*fu zuo* 復坐; App. 4.1: no. 7). Zengzi, in texts where he uses "I will tell you" (App. 4.2), orders students to "come" (*lai* 來; *Da Dai liji* 38) and to "sit down" (*zuo* 坐; *Shuoyuan* 19). Such phrases highlight the hierarchical nature of the relationship between Master and disciple. They evoke the physical control that the Master exerts over the placement and movements of the disciple.

As well as ordering the disciples where to sit and stand, the Master also asserts his authority over the disciple's mind. Confucius enjoins disciples to "Remember this" (*zhi zhi* 志之; App. 4.1: 2, 3) and, in one case, prefixes a numbered catalogue with the injunction to "Listen to this carefully!" (*shen ting zhi* 慎聽之; App. 4.1: no. 9).[54] Instructions to remember or heed well a lesson just delivered by the Master appear in certain anecdotes that display similar characteristics as the ones in which the "I will tell you" formula occurs: an emphasis on the hierarchical relationship between Master and followers; a passive role of the disciples; and a strongly didactic tendency.

3.2 Uses of "I will tell you" outside the Confucian circle

A noteworthy aspect of the "I will tell you" formula is its preponderance in Confucian anecdotes. Even though the formula is also attested in other writings (see App. 4.3 for a list), it is very much characteristic of Confucian texts. 42 occurrences in 17 separate variant clusters (groups of multiply transmitted texts) occur in anecdotes and dialogues involving Confucius, and another three in anecdotes about Zengzi, bringing the total to 44 occurrences in 20 variant clusters. Two of the Confucius dialogues are found in *Zhuangzi* and should thus be subtracted, which reduces the total to 42 in 18 variant clusters. By comparison, 12 occurrences (close variants of the formula included) are found in 11 texts (10 clusters) that do

54 This co-occurs with the second use of the "I will tell you" formula (Sun Xidan 1989: 1269).

not involve Confucius or the disciples. Two of these are found in *Xunzi*, however, making these in some sense Confucian occurrences as well.[55]

From this it appears that *wu yu ru* was not part of the general phraseology of Classical Chinese. If it was, one would expect to encounter it in a larger number of other texts as well.[56] Instead, it can be considered part of a characteristically Confucian stock of phrases and formulae. It probably originated in the context of a specific type of dialogues and anecdotes featuring Confucius and the disciples, and it migrated only afterwards into other texts. In regard to their contents and to the characters featured in them, some of these other texts show clear similarities to Confucian writings. A second group, found in *Zhuangzi*, does not. The Confucian texts, passages from *Xunzi*, *Yi Zhou shu* 逸周書, *Lienü zhuan* 列女傳 and *Zhoubi suanjing* 周髀算經 will be discussed first. This discussion is followed by an overview of *wu yu ru* in the *Zhuangzi*.[57]

In two texts, the formula "I will tell you" appears in speeches attributed to the early cultural heroes of the Zhou 周. In a passage from *Xunzi* 32, "Yao wen" 堯問, the Duke of Zhou criticises his son's tutor for failing to teach him how to associate with capable men of service. The duke goes on to explain:

> 吾語女：我文王之為子，武王之為弟，成王之為叔父，吾於天下不賤矣；然而吾所執贄而見者十人，還贄而相見者三十人，貌執之士者百有餘人，欲言而請畢事者千有餘人，於是吾僅得三士焉，以正吾身，以定天下。
> I will tell you: Being King Wen's son, King Wu's younger brother, and King Cheng's uncle, I am certainly not considered ignoble within the realm. And yet, there are ten men whom I go to see with ceremonial gifts in my hands; there are thirty whose presents I return on meeting them; there are more than hundred whom I await with a ceremonious appearance; there are more than one thousand who wish to address [me] and whom I ask to finish their business. But then, I only find three men of service among these to set me straight and secure the realm.

The hierarchical distance between speaker and addressee still pertains, but the message that follows "I will tell you" is of a different kind. It is not moral advice, phrased in general, abstract terms. Instead the speaker describes his own purported actions and experiences to set himself up as an example, an aspect alien to the didactic dialogues between members of the Confucian circle.

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55 *Xunzi* 6 (see App. 4.3) is an anomaly since it is not a dialogue. Very likely, the use of "I will tell you" is a vestige of the text's origin as part of a dialogue, although the nature of the text was subsequently altered as a result of some editorial decision or error.

56 One may suspect with some justification that the surviving texts as a whole form a biased sample that is quantitatively skewed towards the Confucian end of the ideological spectrum, but this goes beyond the scope of the present paper.

57 For the full list with references see Appendix 4.3.

By comparison, the type of instruction that Wen offers his heir apparent Fa 發, the future King Wu 武, in the *Yi Zhou shu* chapter "What King Wen Handed Down" (Wen wang zhuan 文王傳) resembles more closely the teachings encountered in the Confucius anecdotes:

> 嗚呼！我身老矣！吾語汝我所保與我所守，傳之子孫。厚德而廣惠，忠信而志愛。人君之行，不為驕侈，不為泰靡，不淫于美，括 [= 刮] 柱茅茨，為民愛費。
> Alas, I have grown old. I will tell you what I have guarded and protected to hand it down to sons and grandsons.[58] Make abundant your virtue, make broad your generosity. Be faithful and trustworthy and set your mind on having a caring attitude. The conduct of a prince is such: He is not arrogant or wasteful, he is not given to extravagance or excess, he does not abandon himself to beauty. [His] pillars are from timber stripped of bark [but not carved]. [His] roof is made of grass – on behalf of the people he grudges expenses.

The speech situation, a scene of instruction in which an ageing king addresses his successor, is reminiscent of what Sarah Allan dubs the genre *shu* 書, a type of "text which claims to be a contemporaneous record of a speech of an ancient king".[59] Accordingly, the advice King Wen offers is more suited to a future ruler than the teachings that Confucius has in store for his followers.

In *Guoyu* 國語 and in a parallel in *Lienü zhuan* a grandee of Lu finds his mother Jing Jiang 敬姜 at home spinning and fears that he might be considered unfilial because his mother is burdened with such mundane chores. But Jing Jiang reminds him forcefully of the moral value of labour:

> 魯其亡乎！使僮子備官而未之聞耶？居，吾語女。昔聖王之處民也，擇瘠土而處之，勞其民而用之，故長王天下。夫民勞則思，思則善心生；逸則淫，淫則忘善，忘善則惡心生。
> Lu is finished! They let a boy occupy an official post even though he has not heard this yet? Sit down, I will tell you. In the past, when the sage kings settled their people, they selected barren land and settled them there. They exhausted their people when they employed them, this is why they ruled over the realm as kings for a long time. Now, when the people are exhausted they will engage in thought, and when they think, a kindly disposition will arise in them. If they are idle, they will be feckless, if feckless, they will forget all kindliness, and if they forget kindliness, an evil disposition will arise.

A similar constellation is found in a dialogue transmitted in *Lienü zhuan* only. Here, Jing Jiang uses weaving as an extended conceptual metaphor to teach her son the political organisation of the state. In these texts, it is a woman who has the authority to employ the "I will tell you" formula, and it is a high-ranking

58 Following the quotation in *Yiwen leiju* 藝文類聚 12 (see Huang Huaixin et al. 1995: 251).
59 See Allan 2012: 557.

noble who is being treated in the same way as Confucius's passive and reverential disciples by their Master. Even though her maternal role automatically places Jing Jiang in a position of seniority over her son, this single exception from the gendered, otherwise exclusively male usage pattern of the formula is remarkable. It may be due to the fact that Jing Jiang figures in a number of anecdotes as a woman whose moral character and perspicacity are so outstanding as to even elicit admiring comments from Confucius.[60]

A further, more conventional occurrence of *wu yu ru* is found in the *Zhoubi suanjing*. Though the subject matter is mathematics and thus far removed from the moral and political orientation of the Confucian dialogues, the speech situation is, on the whole, more similar to these texts than the historical speeches by the Duke of Zhou and King Wen, or the maternal instruction given by Jing Jiang to her son. As in the Confucian dialogues, a reverential disciple interacts with a Master and receives teachings from him.

The most unconventional contexts for the "I will tell you" formula are found in dialogues from *Zhuangzi*.[61] In *Zhuangzi* 11, "Zai you" 在宥, the Yellow Emperor twice deferentially enquires with the sage Guang Chengzi 廣成子 about the "ultimate principle" (*zhi dao* 至道) and is made to listen to didactic speeches in return. Both of these are prefixed by the "I will tell you" formula. Liezi 列子 is treated to a long speech on the "perfect man" (*zhi ren* 至人) by the "guardian of the pass" (*guanyin* 關尹) in *Zhuangzi* 19, "Da sheng" 達生. The guardian also uses the formula. In *Zhuangzi* 23, the eponymous Gengsang Chu 庚桑楚, a disciple of Lao Dan 老丹, brings prosperity to his village by sending away the knowledgeable and benevolent and by surrounding himself only with the most useless men. His neighbours plan to set up altars to worship him, but he refuses to be deified and treated as an exemplar. When his disciples (*dizi* 弟子) disagree with his attitude and try to persuade him to go along with the neighbours' plans, he explains the adverse effects of morality that ultimately lead to immoral outcomes:

> 吾語女：大亂之本，必生於堯、舜之間，其末存乎千世之後。千世之後，其必有人與人相食者也。
>
> I will tell you: The root of great disorder was doubtless growing at the time of Yao and Shun, and its branches will still be present a thousand generations after. After a thousand generations, it will be unavoidable that people eat each other.

60 See Goldin 2002: 58–59. The anecdotes are gathered in the section "Lu yu xia" 魯語下 of *Guoyu*, 5.10–5.17. Jing Jiang's speech on weaving and politics is not included among these and only found in *Lienü zhuan*.

61 One occurrence in *Zhuangzi* 14 is not part of a dialogue.

Compared to the uses of the "I will tell you" formula in Confucian anecdotes, and in comparison even to the occurrences in texts that do not feature the circle of Confucius and his disciples, the *Zhuangzi* dialogues utilise the conventions of the scene of instruction for entirely different ends. The formula helps to create parodies of the instruction scene proper which cast fictional characters in the authoritative role of the master, portray the legendary Yellow Emperor as humble follower of a Daoist perfect man, and attack conventional morality by claiming that its consequences are devastating. As elsewhere in the *Zhuangzi*, these passages flaunt their joyful rejection of the established and commonsensical. In so doing, they rely on generic conventions that were well established by the time they were composed. The use of *wu yu ru* is part of such conventions. In addition to the formula, the scenes in the *Zhuangzi* also use the command "Come!" (*lai* 來) that affirms the Master's control over his followers. The occurrence of such phrases establishes a framework of references that raises expectations about the form and contents of the subsequent interaction: the presence of an authoritative master figure and of passive followers asking for and receiving instruction. Most significantly, they would, under normal circumstances, let the reader expect a discussion of Confucian doctrine. This last expectation, however, is deliberately confounded by the Daoist orientation of the texts.

3.3 Summary

The formula "I will tell you" is part of a specifically Confucian phraseology and occurs most commonly in scenes of instruction. It is usually uttered by Confucius in dialogues with followers. It introduces didactic contents of a moral or political character and focuses the audience's attention on them. The disciples are commonly depicted in a passive role; they respectfully receive the master's teachings and may occasionally elicit further statements through their questions. In rare cases, they betray their emotions in minimalistically described gestures. Some commands that co-occur with "I will tell you" further assert the master's control over the disciples. Distress narratives diverge slightly from this pattern. They present Zilu as questioning the Master's authority. Accordingly, Confucius reacts with aggressive rejection in most of these narratives, going so far as to call Zilu a "petty man".

Uses of the formula in dialogues and anecdotes that do not involve Confucius fall into two categories. Some texts follow a similar general orientation as the original scenes of instruction but introduce a type of setting where speeches are attributed to cultural heroes such as the Duke of Zhou and King Wen, or to a historical figure such as Jing Jiang, the only female on record as having ever uttered

the formula. In one case, in the *Zhoubi suanjing*, the setting of the dialogue between a teacher and his follower agrees with the Confucian anecdotes, but the mathematical content of the master's instruction is of a different nature entirely. Overall, these uses of the formula continue to employ or develop core characteristics of the Confucian scenes of instruction and, with the exception of *Zhoubi suanjing*, they adhere to a comparable ideological orientation.

The scenes from the *Zhuangzi*, by contrast, serve a different agenda. They partially maintain the framework of the scene of instruction (the formula, the deferential enquiry and passive role of the followers, the proclamation of important teachings) but fill it with ideological contents that are opposed to more conventional scenes of instruction, regardless of whether or not these involve Confucius and his disciples.

4 In lieu of a conclusion: how many Confuciuses?

In two texts that present Confucius as adviser to the duke of Lu and one other, which one may reasonably assume to involve the same protagonists, Confucius pronounces a group of distinctly a-rhetorical, rigidly structured speeches that often make use of formal patterns such as formulaic frames to demarcate individual textual units. The speeches serve not so much the persuasion of the listener as an editorial purpose. They gather disparate didactic materials and add a sense of formal coherence to these materials by presenting them within a specific situational framework. In attributing these materials to Confucius, the texts confer additional authority upon them. These texts are parasitical on Confucius's authority and ultimately reduce his role to that of a textual function.

Scenes of instruction that are characterised by the highly distinctive formula "I will tell you" record interactions between Confucius and his disciples that affirm the Master's intellectual and moral authority as well as his control over his followers. These interactions are typically shorter than the dialogues with Duke Ai. They also tend to add the odd minimalistic descriptive touch in the form of actions or movements by the disciples that betray their inner states. On the whole, however, neither the scenes of instruction nor the Duke Ai dialogues qualify as attempts at literary verisimilitude. They were probably never meant to be convincing representations of interactions as they did happen or could have conceivably happened. Rather, they adhere to rigid and strictly stereotypical patterns of representation that do not aim to create a semblance of realism outside parts of the narrative frame. Their purpose is a different one.

The Confucius of the two groups of texts reviewed in this article is to some extent an abstract representation of authority and source of knowledge. In the

conversations with Duke Ai, he embodies a textual function that is part of an editorial strategy. In the dialogues that involve the "I will tell you" formula, he is the narrative linchpin that holds together a specific genre, the scene of instruction. One may say with only slight exaggeration that the Confucius of the Duke Ai dialogues serves the text, while the Confucius of the scenes of instruction serves the creation of a specific narrative and didactic constellation.

It is plausible that these two functions reflect wider attempts to consolidate a disparate textual heritage and to inculcate a particular collective self-image respectively. Building a corpus of authoritative texts specifically associated with the venerated founding figure of the classicist tradition out of textual leftovers from the past as well as revisiting the gestures of authority by which this founding figure manifested his authority would have conceivably been powerful means to strengthen the classicist ethos and identity. One could therefore surmise that the textual processes this article has attempted to delineate are symptoms of a broader tendency to mould textual remnants and images of the past into a new cornerstone of identity and ideological self-assurance. This does not contradict the presence of narrower didactic aims. In fact, the "Conduct of the Classicists" suggests that instructional purposes and the aims of identity-construction and indoctrination may well have reinforced each other.

The analyses presented in this article only scratch the surface of a far larger complex of texts and problems, and they do so merely in a small number of places chosen with a degree of arbitrariness. One may well find that the Confucius figure will fracture into an ever increasing number of facets the more closely the sources are inspected. How many of these should one expect to encounter? To a significant extent, the answer will depend on how we define what we are looking for. The present article has consciously opted for a largely descriptive investigation of formal features. This is not to deny the relevance of philosophical ideas or ideological motivations, which are for instance realised in the emphatic idealisation of the *ru* in the "Conduct of the Classicists". An interest in the expression of ideas could motivate one, among other things, to look for and analyse Confucius the promoter of filial piety, or Confucius the defender of the rule of law; a "legalist" Confucius, as it were. A more structuralist approach interested in motifs, phrases, and narrative constellations may investigate Confucius the enunciator of treatises (a role not unlike his appearance as counsellor to Duke Ai), or the Master who urges his followers to "heed well" his instructions, a recurring formula in anecdotal sources. Alternatively, such an approach may lead to a study of the Confucius who encounters strangers on his travels, or the Confucius who expounds the virtues of the noble man. Research along such lines has already been conducted by Jeffrey Riegel in his investigation into Confucius lore modelled on certain Odes, by Eric Henry in his analysis of Confucius as a commentator on histor-

ical events and personalities in the *Zuozhuan*, and by Olivia Milburn, who has studied texts that associate Confucius with the south of China in order to draw this region into the ideological and cultural orbit of the imperial state.[62] A system of analytical coordinates with finer granularity will likely help to develop a growing number of categories that promise to facilitate a better understanding of the multifarious manifestations of the Confucius figure.

Such analytical refinement may also help to address questions of chronology and mutual dependencies between texts, genres, images, and ideas that were consciously avoided in the foregoing discussions. For example, is the Confucius we encounter in the dialogues with Duke Ai dependent on Confucius the master as represented in the scenes of instruction? Did Confucius the traveller only emerge after the spread of narratives about peripatetic persuaders, or was Confucius indeed the historical forerunner of the persuaders, as his *Shiji* biography suggests? These and other question will only become tractable after a more comprehensive analysis of the sources on Confucius has been conducted according to the widest possible set of criteria, defined in terms of both form and content.

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62 See Riegel 1986; Henry 1999; Milburn (forthcoming).

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Appendix 1: Liji 41, "Ru xing"

魯哀公問於孔子曰・夫子之服・其儒服與・
孔子對曰・丘少居魯・衣逢掖之衣・長居宋・冠章甫之冠・丘聞之也・君子之學也博・其服也鄉・丘不知儒服・
哀公曰・敢問儒行・
孔子對曰・遽數之不能終其物・悉數之乃留・更僕・未可終也・哀公命席・孔子侍曰・

(1)
儒有席上之珍以待聘 [*pheŋh]・夙夜強學以待問 [*məns]・懷忠信以待舉 [*klaʔ]・力行以待取 [*tshoʔ]・其自立有如此者・

(2)
儒有衣冠中・動作慎・其大讓如慢・小讓如偽・大則如威・小則如愧・其難進而易退也・粥粥若無能也・其容貌有如此者・

(3)
儒有居處齊難・其坐起恭敬・言必先信・行必中正・道塗不爭險易之利・冬夏不爭陰陽之和・愛其死以有待也・養其身以有為也・其備豫有如此者・

(4)
儒有不寶金玉・而忠信以為寶・不祈土地・立義以為土地・不祈多積・多文以為富・難得而易祿也・易祿而難畜也・非時不見・不亦難得乎・非義不合・不亦難畜乎・先勞而後祿・不亦易祿乎・其近人有如此者・

(5)
儒有委之以貨財・淹之以樂好・見利不虧其義・劫之以眾・沮之以兵・見死不更其守・鷙蟲攫搏・不程勇者・引重鼎・不程其力・往者不悔・來者不豫・過言不再・流言不極・不斷其威・不習其謀・其特立有如此者・

(6)
儒有可親而不可劫也・可近而不可迫也・可殺而不可辱也・其居處不淫・其飲食不溽・其過失可微辨・而不可面數也・其剛毅有如此者・

(7)
儒有忠信以為甲胄・禮義以為干櫓・戴仁而行・抱義而處・雖有暴政・不更其所・其自立有如此者・

(8)
儒有一畝之宮・環堵之室・篳門圭窬・蓬戶甕牖・易衣而出・并日而食・上答之・不敢以疑・上不荅・不敢以諂・其仕有如此者・

(9)
儒有今人與居・古人與稽・今世行之・後世以為楷・適弗逢世・上弗援・下弗推・讒諂之民・有比黨而危之者・身可危也・而志不可奪也・雖危・起居竟信其志・猶將不忘百姓之病也・其憂思有如此者・

(10)
儒有博學而不窮・篤行而不倦・幽居而不淫・上通而不困・禮之以和為貴・忠信之美・優游之法・慕賢而容眾・毀方而瓦合・其寬裕有如此者・

(11)
儒有內稱不辟親・外舉不辟怨・程功積事・推賢而進達之・不望其報・君得其志・苟利國家・不求富貴・其舉賢援能有如此者・

(12)
儒有聞善以相告也・見善以相示也・爵位相先也・患難相死也・久相待也・遠相致也・其任舉有如此者・

(13)
儒有澡身而浴德・陳言而伏・靜而正之・上弗知也・躁而翹之・又不急為也・不臨深而為高・不加少而為多・世治不輕・世亂不沮・同弗與・異弗非也・其特立獨行有如此者・

(14)
儒有上不臣天子・下不事諸侯・慎靜而尚寬・強毅以與人・博學以知服・近文章・砥厲廉隅・雖分國・如錙銖・不臣不仕・其規為有如此者・

(15)
儒有合志同方・營道同術・竝立則樂・相下不厭・久不相見・聞流言不信・其行本方・立義・同而進・不同而退・其交友有如此者・

(16)
溫良者・仁之本也・敬慎者・仁之地也・寬裕者・仁之作也・孫接者・仁之能也・禮節者・仁之貌也・言談者・仁之文也・歌樂者・仁之和也・分散者・仁之施也・儒者兼此而有之・猶且不敢言仁也・其尊讓有如此者・

(17)
儒有不隕穫於貧賤・不充詘於富貴・不愿君王・不累長上・不閔有司・故曰儒・今眾人之命儒也妄・常以儒相詬病・

孔子至舍・哀公館之・聞此言也・言加信・行加義・終沒吾世・不敢以儒為戲・

(Sun Xidan 1989: 1398–1410)

Appendix 2: *Da Dai liji* 68, "Qian sheng"

I.
公曰：「千乘之國，受命於天子，通其四疆，教其書社，循其灌廟，建其宗主，設其四佐，列其五官，處其朝市，為仁如何？」
子曰：「不仁，國不化。」
公曰：「何如之謂仁？」
子曰：「不淫於色。」

II.

子曰：

(1)「立妃設如太廟然，[63] 乃中治；中治，不相陵；不相陵，斯庶嬪遧；遧，則事上靜；靜，斯潔信在中。朝大夫必慎以恭；出會謀事，必敬以慎言；長幼小大必中度，此國家之所以崇也。

(2) 立子設如宗社，宗社先示威，威明顯見；辨爵集德，是以母弟官子咸有臣志，莫敢援於外，大夫中婦私謁不行，此所以使五官治，執事政也。夫政以教百姓，百姓齊以嘉善，故蠱佞不生，此之謂良民。國有道則民昌，此國家之所以大遂也。

63 Here and below, recurring formulae used to frame textual units are underlined.

(3) 卿設如大門，大門顯美，小大尊卑中度。開明閉幽，內祿出災，以順天道，近者閑焉，遠者稽焉。君發禁，宰而行之以時，通于地，散布於小。理天之災祥，地寶豐省，及民共饗其祿，共任其災，此國家之所以和也。

(4) 國有四輔；輔，卿也。卿設如四體，毋易事，毋假名，毋重食。凡事，尚賢進能，使知事，爵不世，能之不愆。凡民，戴名以能，食力以時成，以事立，此所以使民讓也。民咸孝弟而安讓，此以怨省而亂不作也，此國之所以長也。

(5)
下無用，則國家富；[*pəkh]
上有義，則國家治；[*drə / drəh]
長有禮，則民不爭；[*kreŋh]
立有神，則國家敬；[*tsrêŋ]
兼而愛之，則民無怨心；
以為無命，則民不偷。

昔者先王本此六者而樹之德，此國家之所以茂也。

III.

設其四佐而官之：

(1) 司徒典春，以教民之不則時、不若、不令，成長幼老疾孤寡以時通于四疆。有闔而不通，有煩而不治，則民不樂生，不利衣食。
凡民之藏貯，以及山川之神明加于民者，發國功謀，齋戒必敬，會時必節。日、厤、巫、祝，執伎以守官，俟命而作。祈王年，禱民命，及畜穀、蚩征、庶虞草。方春三月，緩施生育，動作百物，於時有事，享于皇祖皇考，朝孤子八人，以成春事。

(2) 司馬司夏，以教士車甲。
凡士執伎論功，脩四衛。強股肱，質射御，才武聰慧，治眾長卒，所以為儀綴於國。出可以為率，誘於軍旅。四方諸侯之遊士，國中賢餘秀興閱焉。
方夏三月，養長秀蕃庶物。於時有事，享于皇祖皇考，爵士之有慶者七人，以成夏事。

(3) 司寇司秋，以聽獄訟，治民之煩亂，執權變民中。
凡民之不刑，崩本以要閒，作起不敬以欺惑憧愚。
作於財賄、六畜、五穀曰盜。誘居室家有君子曰義。子女專曰媟餙 [> 飾] 五兵及木石曰賊。以中情出，小曰閒，大曰講。利辭以亂屬曰讒。以財投長曰貸。
凡犯天子之禁，陳刑制辟，以追國民之不率上教者。夫是故一家三夫道行，三人飲食，哀樂平，無獄。
方秋三月，收斂以時。於時有事，嘗新于皇祖皇考，食農夫九人，以成秋事。

(4) 司空司冬，以制度制地事，準揆山林，規表衍沃，畜水行，衰濯浸，以節四時之事。治地遠近，以任民力，以節民食，太古食壯之食，攻老之事。」

IV.

公曰：「功事不少，而餱糧不多乎？」

子曰：

(1)

(a) 太古之民，秀長以壽者，食也。

在今之民，羸醜以斃者，事也。

(b) 太古無遊民，食節事時，民各安其居，樂其宮室，服事信上，上下交信，地移民在。

今之世，上治不平，民治不和，百姓不安其居，不樂其宮；老疾用財，壯狡用力，於玆民游；薄事貪食，於玆民憂。

(c) 古者殷書為成男成女名屬升于公門，此以氣食得節，作事得時，勸有功；夏服君事不及暍，冬服君事不及凍；是故年穀不成，天之饑饉，道無殣者。

在今之世，男女屬散，名不升于公門，此以氣食不節，作事不成；天之飢饉，於時委民，不得以疾死。

(2) 是故立民之居，必于中國之休地，因寒暑之和，六畜育焉，五穀宜焉；辨輕重，制剛柔，和五味，以節食時事。

東辟之民曰夷，精以僥，至于大遠，有不火食者矣。

南辟之民曰蠻，信以朴，至于大遠，有不火食者矣。

西辟之民曰戎，勁以剛，至于大遠，有不火食者矣。

北辟之民曰狄，肥以戾，至于大遠，有不火食者矣。

及中國之民，曰五方之民，有安民，和味，咸有實用利器，知通之，信令之。

及量地度居，邑有城郭，立朝市。地以度邑，以度民，以觀安危。距封後利，先慮久固，依固可守，為奧可久，能節四時之事，霜露時降。

方冬三月，草木落。庶虞藏，五穀必入于倉。於時有事，蒸于皇祖皇考，息國老六人，以成冬事。[64]

民咸知孤寡之必不末也，

　　咸知有大功之必進等也，

　　咸知用勞力之必以時息也。

推而內之水火，入也弗之顧矣，而況有強適在前，有君長正之者乎？」

公曰：「善。」

(Wang Pinzhen 1983: 153–164.)

64 These sentences should probably be part of III.4; see fn. 31.

Appendix 3: *Xunzi* 31, “Ai gong”, and parallels

Xunzi 31	*Da Dai liji* 40	*Kongzi jiayu* 7
I.A		
(1) 魯哀公問於孔子曰：「吾欲論吾國之士，與之治國，敢問如何取之邪？」 孔子對曰：「生今之世，志古之道；居今之俗，服古之服；舍此而為非者，不亦鮮乎！」	魯哀公問於孔子曰：「吾欲論吾國之士，與之為政，何如者取之？」 孔子對曰：「生乎今之世，志古之道；居今之俗，服古之服。舍此而為非者，不亦鮮乎？」	哀公問於孔子曰：「寡人欲論魯國之士，與之為治，敢問如何取之？」 孔子對曰：「生今之世，志古之道；居今之俗，服古之服。舍此而為非者，不亦鮮乎？」
(2) 哀公曰：「然則夫章甫絇屨，紳而搢笏者，此賢乎？」 孔子對曰：「不必然，夫端衣玄裳，絺而乘路者，志不在於食葷；斬衰菅屨，杖而啜粥者，志不在於酒肉。生今之世，志古之道；居今之俗，服古之服；舍此而為非者，雖有，不亦鮮乎！」	哀公曰：「然則今夫章甫、句屨、紳帶而搢笏者，此皆賢乎？」 孔子曰：「否，不必然。今夫端衣、玄裳、冕而乘路者，志不在於食葷；斬衰、蕑屨、杖而歠粥者，志不在於飲食。故生乎今之世，志古之道；居今之俗，服古之服；舍此而為非者，雖有，不亦鮮乎？」	曰：「然則章甫絇履，縉帶搢笏者，賢人也。」 孔子曰：「不必然也。丘之所言，非此之謂也。夫端衣玄裳，冕而乘軒者，則志不在於食君；斬衰菅菲，杖而歠粥者，則志不在於酒肉。生今之世，志古之道；居今之俗，服古之服，謂此類也。」
哀公曰：「善！」	哀公曰：「善！	公曰：「善哉！盡此而已乎？」
I.B		
(1) 孔子曰：「人有五儀：有庸人，有士，有君子，有賢人，有大聖。」 哀公曰：「敢問何如斯可謂庸人矣？」	何如則可謂庸人矣？」	孔子曰：「人有五儀：有庸人，有士人，有君子，有賢人，有聖人。審此五者，則治道畢矣。」 公曰：「敢問何如斯可謂之庸人？」
(2) 孔子對曰：「所謂庸人者，口不能道善言，必不知色色；不知選賢人善士託其身焉以為己憂；勤行不知所務，止立不知所定；日選擇於物，不知所貴；從物如流，不知所歸；五鑿為正，心從而壞：如此則可謂庸人矣。」 哀公曰：「善！敢問何如斯可謂士矣？」	孔子對曰：「所謂庸人者，口不能道善言，而志不邑邑；不能選賢人善士而託其身焉，以為己憂。動行不知所務，止立不知所定；日選於物，不知所貴；從物而流，不知所歸，五鑿為政，心從而壞；若此，則可謂庸人矣。」 哀公曰：「善！何如則可謂士矣？」	孔子曰：「所謂庸人者，心不存慎終之規，口不吐訓格之言，不擇賢以託其身，不力行以自定；見小闇大，而不知所務；從物如流，不知其所執，此則庸人也。」 公曰：「何謂士人？」

Xunzi 31	*Da Dai liji* 40	*Kongzi jiayu* 7
(3)		
孔子對曰：「所謂士者，雖不能盡道術，必有率也；雖不能徧美善，必有處也。是故知不務多，務審其所知；言不務多，務審其所謂；行不務多，務審其所由。故知既已知之矣，言既已謂之矣，行既已由之矣，則若性命肌膚之不可易也。 故富貴不足以益也，卑賤不足以損也：如此則可謂士矣。」	孔子對曰：「所謂士者，雖不能盡道術，必有所由焉；雖不能盡善盡美，必有所處焉。是故知不務多，而務審其所知；行不務多，而務審其所由；言不務多，而務審其所謂；知既知之，行既由之，言既順之，若夫性命肌膚之不可易也，富貴不足以益，貧賤不足以損。若此，則可謂士矣。」	孔子曰：「所謂士人者，心有所定，計有所守，雖不能盡道術之本，必有率也；雖不能備百善之美，必有處也。是故知不務多，必審其所知；言不務多，必審其所謂；行不務多，必審其所由。智既知之，言既道之，行既由之，則若性命之形骸之不可易也；富貴不足以益，貧賤不足以損，此則士人也。」
哀公曰：「善！敢問何如斯可謂之君子矣？」	哀公曰：「善！何如則可謂君子矣？」	公曰：「何謂君子？」
(4)		
孔子對曰：「所謂君子者，言忠信而心不德，仁義在身而色不伐，思慮明通而辭不爭，故猶然如將可及者，君子也。」	孔子對曰：「所謂君子者，躬行忠信，其心不貿；仁義在己，而不害不志；聞志廣博，而色不伐；思慮明達，而辭不爭；君子猶然如將可及也，而不可及也。如此，可謂君子矣。」	孔子曰：「所謂君子者，言必忠信，而心不怨；仁義在身，而色無伐；思慮通明，而辭不專；篤行信道，自強不息，油然若將可越，而終不可及者，此則君子也。」
哀公曰：「善！敢問何如斯可謂賢人矣？」	哀公曰：「善！敢問：何如可謂賢人矣？」	公曰：「何謂賢人？」
(5)		
孔子對曰：「所謂賢人者，行中規繩而不傷於本，言足法於天下而不傷於身，富有天下而無怨財，布施天下而不病貧：如此則可謂賢人矣。」	孔子對曰：「所謂賢人者，好惡與民同情，取舍與民同統；行中矩繩，而不傷於本；言足法於天下，而不害於其身；躬為匹夫而願富，貴為諸侯而無財。如此，則可謂賢人矣。」	孔子曰：「所謂賢人者，德不踰閑，行中規繩，言足以法於天下，而不傷於身；道足以化於百姓，而不傷於本；富則天下無冤財，施則天下不病貧，此則賢者也。」
哀公曰：「善！敢問何如斯可謂大聖矣？」	哀公曰：「善！敢問：何如可謂聖人矣？」	公曰：「何謂聖人？」
(6)		
孔子對曰：「所謂大聖者，知通乎大道，應變而不窮，辨乎萬物之情性者也。大道者，所以變化遂成萬物也；情性者，所以理然不 [= 否] 取舍也。是故其事大辨乎天地，明察乎日月，總要萬物於風雨，繆繆肫肫 [tun]，其事不可循 [s-lun]，若天之嗣 [s-ləh]，其事不可識 [lhək]，百姓淺然不識其鄰：若此則可謂大聖矣。」	孔子對曰：「所謂聖人者，知通乎大道，應變而不窮，能測萬物之情性者也。大道者，所以變化而凝成萬物者也。情性也者，所以理然不然、取舍者也。故其事大，配乎天地，參乎日月，雜於雲蜺，總要萬物，穆穆純純，其莫之能循；若天之司，莫之能職；百姓淡然，不知其善。若此，則可謂聖人矣。」	孔子曰：「所謂聖者，德合於天地，變通無方，窮萬事之終始，協庶品之自然，敷其大道，而遂成性情；明並日月，化行若神，下民不知其德，覩者不識其鄰，此謂聖人也。」
哀公曰：「善！」	哀公曰：「善！」	公曰：「善哉！非子之賢，則寡人不得聞此言也。

***Xunzi* 31**

II.

魯哀公問舜冠於孔子，孔子不對。三問不對。哀公曰：「寡人問舜冠於子，何以不言也？」孔子曰：「古之王者，有務而拘領者矣，其政好生而惡殺焉。是以鳳在列樹，麟在郊野，烏鵲之巢可俯而窺也。君不此問，而問舜冠，所以不對也。」

III.

魯哀公問於孔子曰：「寡人生於深宮之中，長於婦人之手，寡人未嘗知哀也，未嘗知憂也，未嘗知勞也，未嘗知懼也，未嘗知危也。」

孔子曰：「君之所問，聖君之問也。丘，小人也，何足以知之？」

曰：「非吾子無所聞之也。」

孔子曰：「君入廟門而右，登自阼階，仰視榱棟，俛見几筵，其器存，其人亡，君以此思哀，則哀將焉而不至矣？君昧爽而櫛冠，平明而聽朝，一物不應，亂之端也，君以此思憂，則憂將焉而不至矣？君平明而聽朝，日昃而退，諸侯之子孫必有在君之末庭者，君以思勞，則勞將焉而不至矣？君出魯之四門，以望魯四郊，亡國之虛則必有數蓋焉，君以此思懼，則懼將焉而不至矣？且丘聞之，君者，舟也；庶人者，水也。水則載舟，水則覆舟，君以此思危，則危將焉而不至矣？」

***Da Dai liji* 40**

孔子出，哀公送之。

(Wang Pinzhen 1983: 8–12)

***Kongzi jiayu* 7**

雖然，寡人生於深宮之內，長於婦人之手，未嘗知哀，未嘗知憂，未嘗知勞，未嘗知懼，未嘗知危，恐不足以行五儀之教，若何？」

孔子對曰：「如君之言，已知之矣，則丘亦無所聞焉。」

公曰：「非吾子，寡人無以啟其心，吾子言也。」

孔子曰：「君 (子) 入廟如右，登自阼階，仰視榱桷，俯察几筵，其器皆存，而不覩其人，君以此思哀，則哀可知矣；昧爽夙興，正其衣冠，平旦視朝，慮其危難，一物失理，亂亡之端，君以此思憂，則憂可知矣；日出聽政，至於中冥，諸侯子孫，往來為賓，行禮揖讓，慎其威儀，君以此思勞，則勞亦可知矣；緬然長思，出於四門，周章遠望，覩亡國之墟；必將有數焉，君以此思懼，則懼可知矣；夫君者、舟也；庶人者、水也。水所以載舟，亦所以覆舟，君以此思危，則危可知矣。

君既明此五者，又少留意於五儀之事，則於政治何有失矣！」

(Chen Shike 1987: 29–30)

Xunzi 31 *Da Dai liji* 40 *Kongzi jiayu* 7

IV.
魯哀公問於孔子曰：「紳委章甫有益於仁乎？」孔子蹴然曰：「君號然也？資哀苴杖者不聽樂，非耳不能聞也，服使然也。黼衣黻裳者不茹葷，非口不能味也，服使然也。且丘聞之，好肆不守折，長者不為市。竊其有益與其無益，君其知之矣。」

V.
魯哀公問於孔子曰：「請問取人。」孔子對曰：「無取健，無取詘，無取口哼。健、貪也；詘、亂也；口哼、誕也。故弓調而後求勁焉，馬服而後求良焉，士信慤而後求知能焉。士不信慤而有多知能，譬之其豺狼也，不可以身尒 [= 邇] 也。 語曰：『桓公用其賊，文公用其盜。故明主任計不信怒，闇主信怒不任計。計勝怒則彊，怒勝計則亡。」

[...]

(Wang Xianqian 1988: 537–545)

Appendix 4: Occurrences of *wu yu ru* 吾語汝

1. Confucius as speaker:

	Text	Number of occurrences	Addressee(s)	Texts / group
1	*Lunyu* 17.8	1	Zilu	1
2	*Xunzi* 29 (Wang Xianqian 1988: 532)	1	Zilu	
	Han shi waizhuan 3 (Qu Shouyuan 1996: 325)	1	ditto	
	Kongzi jiayu 9 (Chen Shike 1987: 59)	1 [吾告汝]	ditto	3
3	*Xunzi* 29 (Wang Xianqian 1988: 531)	1	Zilu	
	Kongzi jiayu 22 (Chen Shike 1987: 149)	1	ditto	2
4	*Distress narratives:*			
	Xunzi 28 (Wang Xianqian 1988: 526–527)	2	Zilu	
	Mozi 39 (Sun Yirang 2001: 303)	1	ditto	
	Shuoyuan 17 (Xiang Zonglu 1987: 422–424)	1	ditto	
	Han shi waizhuan 7 (Qu Shouyuan 1996: 599–601)	1	ditto	
	Kongzi jiayu 20 (Chen Shike 1987: 136)	1	ditto	
	Kongzi jiayu 22 (Chen Shike 1987: 150)	1	ditto	
	Zhuangzi 17 (Wang Shumin 1999: 617–618)	1	ditto	7
5	*Shiji* 67.2193	1	Zilu	
	Shuoyuan 7 (Xiang Zonglu 1987: 163)	1	ditto	
	Kongzi jiayu 8 (Chen Shike 1987: 52)	1	ditto	3
6	*Zhuangzi* 31 (Wang Shumin 1999: 1246)	1	Zilu	1
7	*Xiaojing* 1 (*Xiaojing zhu*: 4b)	1	Zengzi	1
8	*Da Dai liji* 39 (Wang Pinzhen 1983: 1)	1	Zengzi	
	Kongzi jiayu 3 (Chen Shike 1987: 11)	1	ditto	2
9	*Liji* 28 (Sun Xidan 1989: 1267, 1269, 1273)	3	Zizhang, Ziyou, Zigong (2x); Zizhang	
	Kongzi jiayu 27 (Chen Shike 1987: 174–175)	2	Zizhang, Ziyou, Zigong (2x)	
	Kongzi jiayu 36 (Chen Shike 1987:. 211)	1	Zizhang	3
10	*Da Dai liji* 60 (Wang Pinzhen 1983: 112)	1	Zigong	1
11	*Shuoyuan* 17 (Xiang Zonglu 1987: 424–425)	1	Zixia	
	Kongzi jiayu 15 (Chen Shike 1987: 102)	1	ditto	2

	Text	Number of occurrences	Addressee(s)	Texts / group
12	"Min zhi fumu" ms.	0	Zixia	
	Liji 29 (Sun Xidan 1989: 174ff.)	0	ditto	
	Kongzi jiayu 27 (Chen Shike 1987: 177)[66]	1	ditto	3
13	*Shuoyuan* 17 (Xiang Zonglu 1987: 424–425)	1	Zixia	
	Kongzi jiayu 15 (Chen Shike 1987: 102)	1	ditto	
	Liezi 4 (Yang Bojun 1979: 122–123)	1	ditto	
	Huainan zi 18 (Zhang Shuangdi 1997: 1904)	0	unnamed "man" (*ren* 人)	4
14	*Xunzi* 28 (Wang Xianqian 1988: 520–521)	1	unnamed *menren* 門人	
	Shuoyuan 15 (Xiang Zonglu 1987: 380–381)	0	ditto	
	Kongzi jiayu 2 (Chen Shike 1987: 7)	1	Zilu	3
15	*Xunzi* 28 (Wang Xianqian 1988: 520–521)	1	unnamed *menren* 門人	
	Yinwenzi, B (Wang Kailuan 1935: 26–27)	1	ditto	2
16	*Liji* 38 (Sun Xidan 1989: 1023)	1	Bin Moujia 賓牟賈	
	Shiji 24.1228–1230	1	ditto	
	Kongzi jiayu 35 (Chen Shike 1987: 207)	1 [吾語爾]	ditto	3
17	*Zhuangzi* 4 (Wang Shumin 1999: 130)	1 [吾將語若]	Yan Hui	
	Total:	42		42

2. Zengzi as speaker:

Text	Number of occurrences	Addressee
Xunzi 30 (Wang Xianqian 1988: 534)	1	Zeng Yuan 曾元
Da Dai liji 58 (Wang Pinzhen 1983: 98)	1	Shan Juli 單居離
Shuoyuan 19 (Xiang Zonglu 1987: 498)	1	Meng Yi 孟儀[67]

65 For the manuscript text and for an extended discussion of the parallels see Richter 2013: ch. 4–5.

66 Possibly identical with Meng Jingzi 孟敬子, a grandee of Lu also mentioned in *Lunyu* 8.4 (see the note in Xiang 1987).

3. Uses outside the Confucian circle

Text	Number of occurrences	Speaker	Addressee
Xunzi 6 (Wang Xianqian 1988: 103)[68]	1	N/A	N/A
Xunzi 32 (Wang Xianqian 1988: 548)	1	Zhou gong 周公	Bo Qin 伯禽
Yi Zhou shu 25 (Huang Huaixin 1995: 251)	1	Wen wang 文王	Taizi Fa 太子發
Guoyu 5.13 (Shanghai shifan daxue guji zhengli xiaozu 1978: 205) *Lienü zhuan* 1.9 (Huang Qingquan 2008: 40)	1	Jing Jiang 敬姜 ditto	Wen bo 文伯 ditto
Lienü zhuan 1.9 (Huang Qingquan 2008: 38)		Jing Jiang 敬姜	Wen bo 文伯
Zhou bi suan jing, A (Qian Baocong 1963: 25)	1	Master Chen 陳子	Rong Fang 榮方
Zhuangzi 11 (Wang Shumin 1999: 390, 392)	1 1 (余語女)	Guang Chengzi 廣成子	Huangdi 黃帝
Zhuangzi 14 (Wang Shumin 1999: 505–506)	1	Wu Xian(shao?) 巫咸 (紹)	?
Zhuangzi 19 (Wang Shumin 1999: 670)	1 (予語汝)	Guanyin 關尹	Liezi 列子
Zhuangzi 23 (Wang Shumin 1999: 861–862)	1	Gengsang zi 庚桑子	unnamed *dizi* 弟子
Total:	9 (2)		

67 The phrase is not part of a dialogue.